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# SARKARISM

## The Ideas and Ideals of Benoy Sarkar On Man and His Conquests

BY

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## PREFACE

The present brochure forms a part of the author's studies in comparative literature and social thought, and has been preceded by studies on Bankim, Dante and Herder. A study on Condorcet, Durkheim and Bergson is in preparation as well as another on society and art in Greek drama. While carrying on investigations in the sociological output of India and the world at large for a paper in *Samaj-Vijnan* (Sociology), Vol. I. (1938), it occurred to the writer that one could not possibly overlook the extreme polarities of thought as seen in the writings of Sarkar and in those of other writers.

To do justice to the subject it would be necessary to go through all the works of Sarkar. This has not been possible.

The author would like to apologise for the omissions that he may have made in the course of his study.

The author is deeply indebted to all the Indian and Eur-American writers whose estimates of Sarkar's thought published in books or in the different journals of the world have been of immense value.

Finally, he begs leave to express his thanks to Professor Banesvar Dass for his acceptance of this study as a chapter for his *Social and Economic Ideas of Benoy Sarkar*.

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# SARKARISM: THE IDEAS AND IDEALS OF BENOY SARKAR ON MAN AND HIS CONQUESTS\*

## INTRODUCTION

The ideas of Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar have been extensively summarized by distinguished scholars in American, British, French, German, Italian, Dutch, Czech, Rumanian, Polish and other journals. In India the philosopher Mr. Hirendra Nath Datta, Professor Benoyendra Nath Sen, the economist, Principal Ramendra Sundar Trivedi, the physicist, Dr. Brajendra Nath Seal, Major Baman Das Basu, Prof. Banesvar Dass, Mr. Shib Chandra Dutt, Advocate Pankaj Kumar Mukherjee, Dr. Monindra Mohan Moulik, Dr. Lalit Mohan Basu, Professor Sachindra Nath Dutt, Mr. Rabindra Nath Ghose and others have written estimates of Prof. Sarkar's works. Though the subject is not new yet the present study has been undertaken to present it from a different outlook.

An attempt is being made, with whatever limited knowledge the writer can claim on the subject in relation to his predecessors, to relate the doctrine so as to comprehend the entire philosophy of life in its economic, cultural and social aspects. It is not possible to discover a single-line formula to define a doctrine or philosophy and less so when it comprehends the essential ideas of a man's life. The difficulty is aggravated when the doctrine itself represents the complexity of world-cul'ure, the entire field of man and his creations or conquests. Sarkarism is not a philosophy bearing upon some single aspect of life; it is the philosophy of

\* Based on a lecture delivered at Suhrit Library (Calcutta), Lukerganj Club (Allahabad) and other Institutes and published in four numbers of *Forward* (Calcutta), October 10-31, 1938.

This study on Sarkarism belongs to the group of the author's studies in the Social Thought of Bankim Chatterji, the Messages of Dante, Heider's Doctrine of the National Soul, Society and Art in Greek Drama, and French Philosophy

cultural and social dynamics covering almost the whole life of man. While speaking about Sarkarism, we have to take into account the encyclopaedic nature of the subject and Sarkar's world-wide interests ranging from scientific achievements to the folk-dances of primitive men. Besides, Sarkar is the author of French, Italian and German writings to which very few of us can have access. The best way to study Sarkarism would be to select several of Sarkar's books and by quotations to allow the subject to speak for itself. In any case, it is an immense undertaking because it involves wading through some eighteen thousand printed pages or so. But we shall earmark just a few works in English and confine our study to their general ideas and fundamental contents.

It is doubtful if Benoy Sarkar, true to his Sarkarism, has ever written anything which is not different from, and sometimes radically opposed to, the standpoints current at home and abroad. Even his smallest essay embodies a constructive challenge to accepted notions.

In these circumstances it is difficult to single out any of his works as the most characteristic expression of his researches, investigations and conclusions. I dare suggest, however, that *The Futurism of Young Asia* (Berlin 1922, pages 410) may be taken as a prominent landmark of Sarkarism.

On the one hand, this extensive volume sums up on all front's of scientific studies in cultural, economic and international problems Sarkar's views growing for over a decade and a half from 1906. On the other hand, all his economic and sociological views and methods of the last sixteen or seventeen years may be traced to this publication of 1922. In 1939 the *Futurism* has come out under a new title, *The Sociology of Races, Cultures and Human Progress* (Calcutta).

In 1922 the *Sozialwissenschaftliches Literaturblatt* (Berlin) wrote about this book as follows: "Prof. Sarkar reminds us in many ways of our Oswald Spengler on account of startlingly manysided erudition and intellectual flexibility with which this scholarship traverses in a powerful manner all the regions and epochs of human culture. The book exhibits plenty of learning combined with restraint of temperament and is therefore a mine of stimulating suggestions not only to the historian and the philosopher but also to the statesman." According to Professor Karl Haushofer in the *Sueddeutsche Monatshefte* (Munich) of the same year the book "explains perhaps more explicitly than all others the relations of the national ideas

of China and India with Pan-Asian currents of thought and their antithesis to the Eur-American tendencies. It may be regarded as a guide to the ideas of leaders of the Asian movement. Everybody who undertakes a deeper and more intensive investigation of this problem, in so far as the exhibition of surging ideas is concerned, will have to begin chiefly by analysing Sarkar's philosophical fresco of awakening Asia. This is the most magnificent of all presentations from the Asian standpoint known to me."

About the same time the *Giornale degli Economisti e Rivista di Statistica* (Rome) wrote: "The eminent Indian historian and sociologist has collected in this volume some of his essays on the evolution and immediate future of Asia. Altogether these writings give an adequate idea of the momentous movement of rapid evolution, economic and intellectual, that has manifested itself in the last decades in Southern and Eastern Asia."

The *Modern Review* (Calcutta) said in 1922: "In the more general aspects of comparative culture-study, the author is easily first among Indian writers, sure to arrest your attention and provoke you to think. Every sentence is like a knock-down blow, and it tells owing to the intimate firsthand knowledge which lies behind it." Another Indian journal, the *Vedic Magazine* (Hardwar, U.P.) of April 1923 greeted the work in the following manner: "Benoy Kumar Sarkar is one of the foremost thinkers and writers of India to-day. In this his latest production he has collected some of his essays that he has been contributing to the leading journals of Germany, France and America. He has studied the history of various countries of Asia and drawn from it the conclusions as to the trend that events in Asia will, in continuation of the past behind them, take. That there are inherent differences between different sections of humanity is a theory that Sarkar unanswerably refutes with the logic of historic and physical facts."

The *New Hemisphere* was equally emphatic in its views. Said the *Freeman* (New York): "American readers would do well to study this clear and forcible statement of an Asiatic view of Western civilization and the future relations of East and West. Prof. Sarkar rejoices in the rapid industrialization of the East, disregarding all possibility of any better way. It is for Asia to assert herself in the modern world by economic competition. The economic results of industrialism and scientific invention are being rapidly absorbed and added to by the East; and soon the apparent distinction between

East and West will disappear, as they are already disappearing in the world of science and art."

I shall not however confine myself to this work. Specimens of Sarkar's thought will be exhibited from different works according to the topics selected.

### Chapter I. Philosophical

#### NOT TRUTH BUT TRUTHS

As a philosophy of life Sarkarism is the doctrine of the individual as the centre of the universe. Sarkar is the exponent of creative individualism. His individual, again, is all the time creating something new. Every creation is a new aspect of the individual's personality. The individual, according to Sarkar, is a bundle of multiple personalities. It is the negation of the integration of personalities in the advocacy of which Sarkar should appear to be in agreement with the Italian writer, Pirandello.\* Man, in this view, is not one personality but a series of personalities presenting this or that phase of it according as the circumstances and relationships necessitate its display. The same man is capable of assuming different personalities in the role of father, son and husband and in the play of each of these roles he is different from the others.

About the nature of personality Sarkar says: "Human *psyche* or rather personality is essentially a dynamic entity, ever on the go; and by nature it is a differentiating organism,—carrying within itself the mechanism of a transformer" (*Political Philosophies Since 1905*, Vol. I. Madras, 1928, p. 2). He is not one of those who believe in the absolute value of truth. To him truth is a perpetually changing category, continually adapting itself to the new discoveries of human intelligence. It is no transcendental quality eluding our grasp, but a palpable reality relative in its course. "Whenever I find," says Sarkar, "two persons trying to agree with each other I feel inclined to suspect that there is a chance for some moral or spiritual injustice happening in the world."

Truth, according to him, is individual, personal and concrete and not universal, general and absolute. "Not Truth, but truths," says Sarkar, "constitute the objective verdict of philosophy." Like

\* L. Petech: "Pirandello's Dramas and Stories" (*Calcutta Review*, April, 1939).

Romain Rolland he believes "in a perpetually changing world," and holds that "a truth that never changes is a lie."

It is not possible for him to swear by race-types and race-geniuses or oriental and occidental ideals of existence. Humanity, according to him, is fundamentally one and differences are essentially individual. World's latitude and longitude do not serve as criteria for the division of humanity. It is everywhere the same. An Abyssinian is capable of displaying the same emotions and feelings as an Englishman with all the pride of his civilized life. In Sarkaristic pluralism there are Abyssinians and Abyssinians just as there are Englishmen and Englishmen. The most fundamental consideration in human beings is the individual personality and not the group, the individuality of character and not the so-called collective conscience or group-mind.

To Sarkar the term 'morality' seems to convey hardly any meaning. Judged by individual standard and conception, what is moral to one may amount to gross immorality to others, and he considers the fixation of an absolute standard of morality to be practically impossible. In the International Parliament of Religions held at Calcutta, 1937, he declared: "The mixture of the rational and the irrational, the logical and the illogical is an integral part of the human *psyche*. Herein is to be found the eternal duplicity of man, as Pascal maintained. Morality is indeed dualistic, nay, pluralistic. Inconsistencies are nowhere more glaring than among the 'leaders' or builders of civilization, whether ancient or modern, in whom as a rule, 'the savagery of a lion,' the slyness of a fox,' or at any rate, severity, cynicism and moral indifferentism constitute the 'necessary pre-requisites for successful climbing through many channels.' (The Religions of the World, Calcutta, 1938, Vol. I. p. 196).

### THE MIGHT OF MAN

Sarkarism is out and out a doctrine of energism and progress. According to Sarkar the mighty transformer of the world is man. This has been his cult since his formulation of the doctrine of *vishwa-shakti sad-wyavahar* (utilization of world-forces) during the Swadeshi period. The Bengali book of essays entitled *Vishwa-shakti* (1914) and the paper on *Itihas-vijnan O Manav-jatir Asha* (The Science of History and Hope of Mankind) read at the Bengali Literary Conference held at Mymensingh (1911) contain the earliest declaration of this creed.

The dynamism of ideas of *shaktiyoga* (energism), *charaiveti* (march on), and *digvijaya* (world-conquest) is one of the fundamental postulates in Sarkar's thought. His is an objective mind. So he looks for concrete illustrations of his cult from history. This spirit he traces in the history of the Indian people beginning from the Mohenjo Daro culture down to the modern age. In his examination of the moral and spiritual values Shivaji the Great (1627-1680) has been declared to be the "greatest Hindu of all ages" (*Introduction to Hindu Positivism*, Allahabad, 1937, p. 579).

A still older embodiment of his cult Sarkar finds in Kautilya (c. 300 B.C.) whom he describes as "philosopher, statesman, energist, who organised for Young India of old the cult of *vijigishu*, (aspirant to conquest)." *The Politics of Boundaries* Vol. I (Calcutta, 1926, 1938) is dedicated to the "spirit of Kautilya."

Another concrete example of Sarkar's *vishwa-shaktir sad-vyavahar* is Hem Chandra Banerji (1838-1903), to whose memory likewise he dedicates the above book. Banerji is the "poet, patriot, idealist," "whose message in Bengali," says Sarkar, "has taught the Young India of to-day as follows :

"Take thee to the ocean's deeps;  
And crowns of mountains scramble hold;  
Planets of the universe,  
Ransacked be merciless;  
Tempests and meteors,  
Flame of lightning fierce,  
Grasp, man, audacious-firm,  
Venture, then, on life's work!"

Incidentally it may be observed that *The Politics of Boundaries* is described by Sarkar as a "contribution to the analysis of *vishwa-shakti* (world-forces)."

Sarkar does not accordingly believe in the Durkheimian cult of man's hopelessness against social surroundings. Like Gaston Richard he is a critic of Durkheim and his ideas are naturally akin to those of Bergson and Spengler. He does not, however, shake hands with Spengler when the latter says that the spirit of Kant is lacking in the modern age. Instead, Sarkar finds it permeating our contemporary thought and activity. It is the activism and not the statical quietism that he is identified with.

In Vivekananda's (1862-1902) life-work Sarkar finds one of the finest modern illustrations of his own cult. His spirit may best

be described in his own words used about Vivekananda. "Vivekananda is not a statical fact," says Sarkar, "he is a going concern. His philosophy compels one to move not only from village to village and region to region but from idea to idea, *mores* to *mores*, custom to custom, ideal to ideal. He is to move out of the shackles of the degrading and dehumanizing theories to the theories of man-making, or rather, the transformation of nature and man by manhood, the remaking of man. It is such social mobility, vertical and horizontal, in space as well as time whose blessings are adumbrated in the *Aitareya Brahmana*" (*Sociology of Population*, Calcutta, 1936, p. 122.)

Speaking of the spirit of dynamism in Vivekananda, he says, "The glorification of the individual, the deification of personality, which enables the man of the *Atharva Veda* (XII, I, 54) to declare to Nature, "Mighty am I, Superior by name, upon the Earth, all-conquering am I, completely conquering every region" is the 'ideal that creates the reality in Vivekananda's psychology. His doctrine of Man-born-to-conquer-Naturism finds therefore its natural paraphrase in the message he delivered to the Bengali people as to All-India at the epoch-making Calcutta meeting (1897). "We have to conquer the world, that we have to! India must conquer the world and nothing less than that is my ideal," said Vivekananda; "It may be very big, it may astonish many of you, but it is so. We must conquer the world or die. There is no other alternative. The sign of life is expansion: we must go out, expand, show life or degrade, foster and die. There is no other alternative."\*\*

It is with this clarion call, this reverberating message of Vivekananda that Sarkarism as a philosophy of life is in sympathy. In Sarkar's thoughts and writings we come across nothing but the will to conquer and the defiance of obstacles. And not only so, he has tried to live up to this ideal, nay, made many to live up to it.

#### PROGRESS AS A SOCIAL REALITY

In Sarkar's philosophy man is always for the declaration of war against submission to hindrances and difficulties. It is the philosophy of a revolt against the so-called bonds of Nature;

\* *The Complete Works of Swami Vivekananda*, vol. III. (1932), pp. 316-319.

against the limits of time and space. It is the philosophy of optimism and hopefulness, a philosophy of the never-to-be-conquered race. Defeatism is a word not to be found in Sarkar's vocabulary. His robust optimism leads him to believe that the Bengal of to-day has outdistanced the Bengal of a few years ago, say, of 1905. In his Bengali book *Badir Path Bangali* (Bengalis in Progress), 1934, he has furnished the statistical evidence of Bengalis making headway in different fields. Greater Bengal, Greater India, is what he stands for. He is not for isolation and retirement, he is all for cultural invasion and conquest, an assimilation of the world-culture so as to make it one's own, and enrich it with Bengali contributions.

As an exponent of progress Sarkar looks around for those teachings of modern philosophers which are calculated to help mankind in the mastery of difficulties and conquest of obstacles. In Ramakrishna (1836-1886) he discovers one such great teacher. While speaking of Ramakrishna he says: "To Ramakrishna vacillation is a sin, weakness is a sin, procrastination is a sin." It is the consciousness of one's importance and dignity, confidence in one's strength that constitute the intellectual make-up of Sarkar's philosophy. He has firm faith in the doctrine of Ramakrishna, among whose sayings we read, "Many with a show of humility say, 'I am like a low worm grovelling in dust.' Thus, always thinking themselves worms, in time they become weak in spirit like worms. Let not despondency enter into thy heart, despair is the great enemy of progress in one's own path" (*Sociology of Population*, p. 114).

All the "great exemplars" of Sarkar are concrete manifestations of the pursuit of a mission under difficulties, the *avatars* of struggle against hindrances. They are strong enough to "make something out of nothing" or "transform a Nay into an Yea," to use his language. His heroes are the remakers of mankind fully self-conscious and supremely conscious about man's destiny in regard to the conquest of nature and the world. Man is by nature a *vira* (hero), and manhood is equivalent to heroism, as he declared already during 1911-14 in the Bengali writings of the *Itihasa-Vijnan* and *Vishwa-shakti* period.

It is relevant here to observe that in the interpretations that Sarkar has given about the teachings of Ramakrishna and Vivekananda he has brought into prominence only those aspects of their

messages which are in agreement with his own cult of power, defiance and world-conquest. Incidentally it may be observed that these interpretations have served to impart a humane, realistic and tangible shape to the Ramakrishna-Vivekananda movement as an intellectual, social and moral factor in national life and international culture. It is in this perspective that Sarkar's doctrine of the "Ramakrishna Empire" has to be placed. Sarkar has succeeded in initiating what may be described as neo-Vivekanandism in Indian social philosophy. In the atmosphere of Sarkarism Vivekananda has acquired a new figure, that of the founder of the "new Indian Empire" of the twentieth century.

In the advocacy of this doctrine of energism and activism Sarkarism, on the one hand, finds a definite counterpart in the *élan vital* of Bergson and *l'impulsion vitale* of Espinas, and, on the other, it meets the doctrine of "perpetual increment" of Benedotto Croce. Sarkar is a stern enemy of Lapogue's doctrine of degeneration and decay. Progress and advancement, and not regression, is according to him the order of this universe. Progress is to him a social reality of human history.

## CREATIVE DISEQUILIBRIUM

This need not, however, lead us to the belief that Sarkar is an incorrigible optimist who would defend his views by practising blindness to the instances of defeat. He does not fail to see the depressions in the condition of men. The adverse results of human endeavours, which we often find in this world, do not escape his sight. Struggles, according to him, may not always lead us from victory to victory, they may end in failure sometimes, but this has not set a limit to the efforts of man. Sarkar recognises the existence of devils. Nay, he would not like to be without them. In his scheme of life's values the devils serve a great purpose. He would like to have them by scores, nay, by millions so that every day he can have an evil to conquer and trample under feet. I remember the peroration with which he brought to a close the proceedings of the International Parliament of Religions at Calcutta on March 8, 1937 (held under the auspices of the Ramakrishna Centenary Committee). The burden of his prayer as a part of his observations on this occasion is given in something like the following words :

"Nobody is more conscious than ourselves," said he as a Secretary of the Parliament, "of the shortcomings of all sorts which

have marked our organisation and functions. Of shortcomings and blemishes we are not afraid, nay, we are proud of them because, humanly speaking, it is the quantity and variety of defects, mistakes and errors of judgment that furnish the veritable index to the complexity, greatness and importance of an undertaking. Indeed, in so far as we are human beings, it should be our prayer to God, if there be a God that can grant our prayers, that our activities be ever marked by shortcomings in order that we may always be on the alert to remove them and attempt everyday to be something new and great or rather somewhat less imperfect, less defective. Hundred percent success is not what we crave for or ought to crave for. Men we are and we want always a Devil in order that we can at every step demonstrate the human might by crushing him."

This is Sarkar's doctrine of progress, a position which involves automatically the existence of evils, miseries and depressions of life as well as the eternal struggle of man to overpower them. It implies a spiritual condition of "creat've disequilibrium,"<sup>1</sup> as he often says. Sarkarism may then be used as a convertible term with activism, energism and life-force, the very principle of life and vital urges. In his doctrine of creative disequilibrium which furnishes the logical foundation of progress as an eternal evolution Sarkar may be best compared with the French philosopher Condorcet (1743-1794), author of the epoch-making *Outline of an Historical Picture of the Progress of the Human Mind* (1795), among the classical thinkers.<sup>2</sup>

## Chapter II. Educational

### LEADERSHIP AS THE AIM OF EDUCATION

As early as 1910 Sarkar formulated a system of education which, in the judgment of the contemporaries, marked "a revolutionary departure from the old track." He introduced a new methodology—the inductive—based on sound principles. Sarkar says, "Education is nothing but the comprehensive means of help-

<sup>1</sup> Sarkar: "Demo-despotocracy and Freedom," "A short-coming of the Hegel-Marxian Dialectic," "Dualism in Law," etc. (*Calcutta Review* for January and February, 1939).

<sup>2</sup> Barnes and Becker: *Social Thought from Lore to Science* (Boston, 1938), vol. I. pp. 473-477.

ing forward the natural life-process. It is an aid to the manifestation and display of vital energy, and accelerates the spontaneous development of individuality through the assimilation of the forces and materials in the universe. It is a process by which the individual and the environment are brought into relations with one another in the interest of the individual's life and progress."

Education ought to make man, as indicated in Sarkar's creed, intellectually a "discoverer of truths" and a "pioneer of learning" and morally "an organizer of institutions and a leader of men." In the *Siksha-Vijnan* (Science of Education) Series Sarkarism is equivalent to "the making of man," which again is identical with the training for leadership. He advocates such moral training as tends to develop the spirit of self-sacrifice and philanthropic habits. As regards the curriculum of the primary schools he insists on its being encyclopaedic and as comprehensive as possible.\* The importance of the vernacular as the medium of highest University instruction occupied his mind in a conspicuous manner.

His book on the study of languages is an excellent work of its kind. A few lines from his *Science of Education* (London, 1913, p. xv) will clearly bring out his viewpoint. "A babbling child," says he, "tries to express at least one simple idea. It is the expression of ideas to others and development of his power of expression that give him gradually a command over the resources of his language and literature; and the necessity of expressing many intricate ideas according to the varied wants of life makes his expression manifold and complete." Sarkar's procedure is to begin with sentences and not with the disjointed word or words. One solitary word, he says, can scarcely express an idea. A complete sense, a full thought is represented by only the sentence. The sentence may be very short, it may consist of two words only, but it is the sentence that is the only vehicle of communication and interchange of ideas. The sentence must therefore be used as the unit of language, and the student must try from the beginning to compose sentences in the language which he wants to learn."

\* B. K. Sarkar: *Steps to a University* (Calcutta, 1912). See Mahamahopadhyaya Prof. Adityaram Bhattacharya's observations on Sarkar's method of teaching the languages, especially Sanskrit, quoted by Dr. L. M. Basu in his preface to Sarkar's *Introduction to Hindu Positivism* (Allahabad, 1937). See also Appendix VI, *supra*, pp. 215-256.

## NATURAL EVOLUTION IN THE EDUCATIONAL PROCESS

The educational system, according to Sarkar, ought to vary with the traditions and habits of the people for whom it is intended. The stereotyped system of education, though hoary with the prestige of antiquity, is a misfit. "If, then, it is necessary," says he, "that some ways and means must be devised by man for the proper development of his mental and physical faculties, the ways and means must have to follow this spontaneous process of life-building and the lines of its natural development." Again, "if it is at all necessary and desirable to establish an institution for educational purposes, the suitability of such an institution must be taken into consideration by having reference to the social, political and religious conditions of the people for whom it is intended. For the life and development have been already adjusted to those surrounding circumstances. If these factors in the existing and past conditions of its national growth are neglected by the responsible guardians of society while formulating schemes of education, the healthy progress of life's development along normal and natural lines will be retarded, and in the place of easily growing specimens of humanity the world will witness the rise of an abnormal and degenerate society of human beings. And such results are the very things to be avoided and prevented by educational arrangements for they run counter to the very ends and objects of education, viz., the development of the individual along the lines of his own natural evolution."

"Every place," he says, "must have its own pedagogics and every age also must have its own." Individuation, freedom, variety, pluralism, these are the marks of Sarkarism in pedagogics. Accordingly he believes that "spiritual education worth the name can be promoted only under conditions of personal love and responsibility that were supplied in the homes of preceptors in ancient India." In Sarkar's educational creed it is the individual, the person, rather than the formula or the system that plays the predominant role. Sarkarism in education is identical with the philosophy of creative morality, individualistic ethics and spiritual leadership.\*

\* See the contributions on "Educational Reform in Sarkar's Steps to a University" (M. N. Sarkar) and "The National Schools of Benoy Sarkar" (B. N. Das-Gupta).

## RAISING THE STANDARD OF HIGHER EDUCATION

In August 1926 the *Calcutta Review*, the journal of the Calcutta University, published Sarkar's "Memorandum on Post-Graduate Studies" containing as it did his ideas on reform in higher education. That "Memorandum" is available as a chapter in his *Comparative Pedagogics in Relation to Public Finance and National Wealth* (Calcutta 1929). The following extracts are taken from this work :

## THE ACADEMIC STANDING OF M.A.

1. Even if the Matriculation, Intermediate and B.A. of our Universities be considerably improved both in standard and method of teaching, the intellectual equipment of the student at the threshold of M.A. is likely to remain low, especially since a foreign language is bound to be the medium of higher education for some long time.
2. M.A. students are generally 21-23 years old. At this age no young men and women, anywhere in the world, are expected to do high-class work as candidates for degrees, even although the mother-tongue be the medium of instruction and culture.
3. It is, therefore, desirable, both on the part of the University authorities as well as the teaching staff, to be modest in regard to what the M.A. degree in India is, academically speaking, to stand for.

## REAL POST-GRADUATE TEACHING

1. It is time to recognize frankly that there cannot be much distinction between the B.A. Honours and M.A. and that the latter should be treated in scope as but a continuation of the former.
2. Without quarrelling over the name it is necessary also to admit that real post-graduate teaching would involve (i) specialization in one or two fields, (ii) an acquaintance with the latest developments in methodology as well as conclusions (i.e. everything that is worth knowing) in regard to the subject or subjects chosen by the candidate, and (iii) mastery over at least two modern European languages on the part of the scholar as well as the habitual use of books and journals in those languages.
3. This result can be attained only when there is provision for at least two full years' regular schooling at the University after

the M.A. to be followed by written (and if necessary, oral) examination.

4. But perhaps neither the University of Calcutta nor any other University in India is at present (i) financially or (ii) in the strength of specialized teaching staff competent enough to undertake this post-M.A. tuition.

5. Until that consummation, highly desirable as it is, can become a question of practical politics it is reasonable (i) to declare openly that real post-graduate teaching is not possible in India to-day and (ii) not to claim it for the existing M.A. work.

#### M.A. AS PRELIMINARY TO POST-GRADUATE

1. M.A. being what it is, the problem of an adequate curriculum is essentially a question of sound pedagogics.

2. For youths of 21-23, who may later be expected to undertake specialized studies, the scheme of instruction is to provide a "minimum complex" of all-round encyclopaedic culture.

3. The problem consists in arranging a system which admits to the scholar's cognizance as many of the different arts and sciences or branches of arts and sciences of the higher grade as possible without any attempt at elimination.

4. M.A. may thus be expected to function as expanded B.A., i.e., as serving to equip the scholar with a training in all those general principles and view-points of arts and sciences without which a specialization in any particular branch or sub-branch can but lead to an undue narrowing down of the mentality or a superficial and unphilosophical grasp of the complex and concrete reality.

#### THE FOUNDATIONS OF HUMANISM

In Sarkar's *Comparative Pedagogics* (Calcutta, 1929) humanism has been taken to be an aim of education and culture. The pedagogic methods by which humanism can be promoted and expanded in the system of national culture have been dealt with by him as follows.

In this Memorandum certain disciplines have been taken to constitute the ground-work of all liberal education, says he. These are (1) anthropology, (2) comparative psychology, (3) economic history, and (4) history of the exact sciences and technical inventions. It is in the interest of a culture, at once humane

and realistic, at once moral and practical, that these sciences should be admitted into everybody's sphere, no matter whether it is mainly philosophical, historical, literary or scientific. The firm and vital grip over facts and problems, both material and moral, and the humanistic attitude in regard to their solution are chief requisites in Young India's intellectual life in order to endow it with anti-anaemic, anti-mystical and anti-speculative virility.

1. It is not desirable to admit anthropology to the rank of an independent cultural unit in the scheme of M.A. studies. But this science has grown during the last two decades or so to enormous proportions. No student of the B.A. stage can afford to grow up without a preliminary grounding in the principles of anthropology. It will have to be counted as a compulsory, allied discipline in the M.A. courses also, in history, psychology, ethics, aesthetics, philosophy, economic evolution, political science, etc. Anthropological training is to be regarded as an indispensable item in the irreducible minimum of humanism.

2. Like anthropology, comparative psychology also is a new science, and its cultural significance has got to be recognized in Indian Universities. The experimental analysis of mental operations in the human as well as the animal world, the objective differentiation of the nervous system according to age and sex, the bearings of health and occupation on personality, as well as the results of investigation in the submerged self, abnormalities and so forth, are phenomena of epoch-making importance with which no young scholar can be allowed to remain unfamiliar to-day. Especially is it necessary in India, where the sway of monistic psychology and absolutism in philosophical thought has obtained too long to the detriment of intellectual catholicity and moral freedom. The clarification and sanity of the brain such as are sure to follow the acceptance of the pluralistic conception of the mind and the doctrines of individualistic psychology will not fail to raise mankind to a higher spiritual level, compelling chauvinism, intolerance and ethical dogmatism to retire inch by inch into the limbo of pre-historic curios.

3. The value of economic history as a discipline in positivism is no less fundamental. The superstitions regarding the alleged distinction in spirit and outlook between the so-called Eastern and Western "types" of civilization, which prevail in Eur-America, as

well as in Asia,—among the students of science as of philosophy, literature, and what not,—will begin to disappear as soon as the stages in the economic evolution of mankind appear before the mind's eye in a realistic manner. To persons well grounded in the objective facts of the growth of mankind in the materialistic line, the perspective of culture will appear in all its clarity and unclouded horizon, and the problems of world-reconstruction, remaking of man, social legislation and so forth that await us to-day lose much of their metaphysical vagueness. Even without accepting the extreme dogma of the "economic interpretation of history" (economic determinism, as it is called), we shall be assured of a logical apparatus and mode of thinking in societal science in which measurement, delimitation and exactitude function constantly as the curb on abstract idealism and proneness to thoughtless generalization. And we shall learn to bid adieu to pseudo-climatology and pseudo-raciology.

4. Finally, as a healthy stimulant in all intellectual pursuits—historical, artistic, philosophical or otherwise—and as a perpetual spur to progressivism and optimistic outlook on life, the study of the exact sciences and inventions in their growth and development has to be welcome in Indian academic circles among the "most-favoured" branches of learning. Young India's intellectuals, whatever be their occupations in future, need a tonic of precise, definite, instrumental thinking; and nothing is better adapted to administer strong doses of this stuff and cure mankind of spiritual malaria than is the history of exact sciences, discoveries and inventions especially in their recent phases.

Mankind is in for a philosophical renaissance and a rearrangement of world-forces. In order that India may keep pace with the changed circumstances it is time that she equip herself with the realistic logic of a new humanism and the creative methodology of a self-confident energism, such as can be forged out of this four-fold discipline. And with the object of assuring ourselves of this great prophylactic against anaemia in the moral plane, anthropology, comparative psychology, economic history and the history of exact science should be made compulsory at the B.A. stage and rendered as accessible as possible to all the M.A. students. The humanism for which this "Memorandum" pleads will enable the educational institutions of India to take a leading part in this new anti-malaria campaign as a matter of course.

### Chapter III. Aesthetic

#### ART AS CREATION OF FORMS

In the *Aesthetics of Young India* (Calcutta, 1922) we come across Sarkarism in the field of art appreciation. Sarkar believes that neither historical art-criticism nor the so-called philosophical art-criticism can do justice to the creative work of the artists. He is emphatic that simply by describing the story or theme of the art-objects one does not enter the domain of art as the thing in itself. Sarkarism is interested in the structural composition or morphology of the fine arts. It examines the form and volume, i.e., the geometry, as well as the colour of sculpture and painting. Sarkar's 'alphabet of beauty' can be understood from passages like the following. "The language of the painter and the sculptor," says he, "is point, line, angle, cone, square, curve, mass, volume. The creators of beauty speak the vocabulary of positions, magnitudes, dimensions and perspectives."

To an artist, believes Sarkar, "there is only one organ of sense and that is the eye. The artist does not however view the world as a theatre of minerals, plants and animals nor of the races of men." We are told that in the geology and anthropo-geography of art there are recorded only the forms and also the colours.

Sarkar asks the question, "What does the artist create?" His answer is as follows: "Not necessarily the doubles or replicas, nor even the interpretations or symbolisms of the forms which arrest his eyes, but whatever his form-sense dictates to him as worth creating." In this Sarkaristic analysis we are to understand that the painter and the sculptor do not construct leaves, trunks, branches, arms, lips, thighs, loves, angers, hatreds. "They are interested solely," says Sarkar, "in the juxtaposition of forms, in the intermarriage of shapes, the permutation and combination of masses and surfaces."

Sarkar discusses the question as to whether the artists are teachers and deliver messages, whether their forms and colours are calculated to foster ideals for mankind and he declares himself on the side of those who believe that art has a moral. In his analysis there cannot be any art for art's sake. Sarkarism considers every piece of art, that is, creation of forms, as fraught with some meaning and some spiritual values. Sarkar believes "that creations of mass in space are problems in themselves and a message

is immanent in each problem, in each contour, in each co-existence of forms, in each treatment of colour." The philosophy of forms in Sarkaristic aesthetics can be further described in a more concrete manner as follows. It is pointed out that "no form, however irregular, unnatural, abnormal, nebulous, hazy, vague or dim can be without its specific meaning in space. Similarly, there cannot be any bend without a sense, any lump without its philosophy, any bit of coloured space without its significance in the scheme of art-geometry." According to Sarkar, "we do not have to wander away from these lines, surfaces, curves, and densities in order to discover the ideals of the maker. The ideals are right there speaking to my eyes."

#### IDEALS IN LITERATURE

Sarkarism in literary appreciation is equivalent to emancipation from the obsessions by climate, race, and religion. In February 1922 Sarkar was invited by the *Englisches Seminar* of the University of Berlin to deliver a lecture in English on the "world's great classics." A summary of this lecture was subsequently read by him as the *Message of Young India* for the Odeon Machine of the Sound Division of the State Library at Berlin for preservation among the plates for recording diverse voices. It is reproduced below :

During the last few decades aesthetic appreciation has been obsessed by pseudo-scientific theories of climate, race and religion, —thus begins Sarkar's *Message* to Eur-America. The science of criticism has managed to construct a geography of artistic temperament, and men and women have been taught to interpret art-ideals and art-motives in terms of latitude and longitude. The most notorious of these anthropological demarcations of the art-sphere is the distinction between Occidental and Oriental zones.

But what do we learn from an objective examination of the world's great classics?

The Homeric and Valmikian epics have innumerable parallels. Achilles and Penelope or their cousins are well known characters in Indian literature. The Vshvamitras of the Hindu *Puranas* have undertaken the same Titanic conflicts with the powers that be as have the Prometheuses of Hellas.

In the *Atharva Veda* Man declares his ambitions to the Earth in the following manner : "Mighty am I, Superior by name, upon

the earth, all-conquering am I, completely conquering every region." European *Zeitgeist* has never been more energetic.

In Virgil's *Aeneid* and Kalidasa's *Raghuvamsha* the student of world literature will find the identical philosophy of national egoism and imperialistic chauvinism. Christians who are used to the analysis of virtues and vices in Dante's *Divine Comedy*, its purgatorial machinery, and its faith in the advent of the *Veltro*, the Deliverer, who would restore on earth the universal Italian empire, will easily appreciate the apocalyptic proclamations of the Hindu *Gita* in regard to the *Yugavatara*, the God incarnate in man, who comes every age to destroy the evil and establish the good.

Similarly orientals do not find anything distinctively occidental in Edmund Spenser's eulogy of temperance in the *Faerie Queene*, in Molière's humour in *L'Etourdi*, or in Goethe's "godless curiosity" in *Faust*. The *troubadours* of Provence, the *Minnesingers* of mediaeval Germany and the minstrels of England could likewise have a natural home among the warrior-*charans* and *bhats* of Indian Rajputs and Marathas.

The evidences of culture-lore as well as folklore are thus contrary to the alleged difference in *Weltanschauung* and philosophic attitude between the East and the West. The ideals of life have been statistically and historically the same in Asia and Eur-America.

The list of analogies, parallelisms, identities and coincidences that can be detected between the historic civilizations of the East and the West is indeed formidable. These analogues and duplicates are to be found not only in the realm of ideas, postulates, hypotheses and beliefs but also in the field of institutions, conventions, superstitions and practices.

I am not here, Ladies and Gentlemen, to advise you that Germany should have to import the message of Nature from India or the East. Nor am I here to inform you that life and thought in India were ever more moral or spiritual than in the West. My mission consists in inviting your attention to the fact that previous to the industrial revolution of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, i.e., down to the time of Goethe and Napoleon there was hardly any political, economic or juridical institution in Europe for which a parallel or a duplicate could not at the same time be found in India. I am here to announce to the world that reform in social science will be possible only when this equality or

fundamental similarity between the East and the West is accepted as the first postulate in all scientific investigations.

#### Chapter IV. Sociological EASTERN ENERGISM AND POSITIVISM

The traditional notions about Oriental culture are described by Sarkar as follows: "The main trend of Max Mueller's thesis was to indicate that India can teach nothing but sublime speculations of an other-worldly character, the psychology of the soul, the ethics of retreat from the struggles of life, and the metaphysics of the infinite." Again, "Schopenhauer, himself a pessimist of the blackest dye, had brought to prominence some of the quietistic passages of the *Upanishads* and the Buddhist *Dhammapada*. Since then it has become almost a fetish in the Western world to take the Orient and pessimism as convertible terms. Especially is Buddhism known in the Occident as the cult of pacifism, annihilation, inactivity, non-resistance, and so forth; and all other cults in the Orient are alleged to approximate this ideal more or less closely. This notion about Asian quietism is one of the greatest *idolas* of the modern world. It cannot stand the least historical criticism."

To disprove the contention of the western scholars Sarkar lays down the following points (*Futurism*, p. 7):

1. "The man Shakya-sinha, called the Buddha, was but one of the hundreds of India's leaders in the fifth and sixth centuries B.C. They counted among them physicians, surgeons, publicists, diplomats, metaphysicians, sophists, logicians and grammarians. Shakya did not monopolize the whole thought and activity of the time."

2. "Shakya was not only the organiser of an order of monks and ascetics, like Pythagoras, but was the teacher also of duties for householders, kings, senators, and soldiers. Most of his followers were energists and active propagandists. They founded charitable institutions, schools, rest-houses, and hospitals both for human beings and animals."

3. "The religion called Buddhism was never a paramount religion and never had an exclusive sway in India, China or Japan. The term, Buddhist India, is thus a misnomer. It cannot apply to any epoch of the country's history. Besides, no religion has ever

dominated the policy of rulers and ruling classes in India. The State in India has never been theocratic."

4. "Those who called themselves Buddhists did not make it a rule to fly away from the pains of the world. They could still be fighters, traders, presidents and kings. There are many instances of Buddhist monks organising themselves into military orders in the mediæval history of China, Japan and India."

In his *Positive Background of Hindu Sociology* (Second Edition, Vol. I Allahabad, 1937) he has demonstrated the fact that the achievements of the Hindus in the field of positive science from the period of the Vedic culture down to 1600 were noteworthy. So far as the materialistic or exact sciences are concerned there was no marked difference between the progress of the two branches of the Eur-Asian continent. It is only in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries that East commenced lagging behind the West in the field of scientific achievement. The shortcomings in the character of the seventeenth and eighteenth century Indians that were evident in the lack of any initiative in the materialistic field are not due, according to Prof. Sarkar, to any defect, guilt or sins of Hinduism, as it is generally thought to be, but to the peculiar 17th and 18th century mentality, both Moslem and Hindu, which refused to learn the scientific-cum-technological developments ushered in by the West.

In his presidential address at the Second Indian Cultural Conference at Calcutta (1937) Sarkar remarks: "The Mussalmans were as defective and therefore as guilty in this respect as the Hindus. It should not be reasonable to attribute this defect to Hinduism as a religion or as a system of alleged caste-ridden social groups. The Moslems who observe neither the religious rites of the Hindus nor the *mores* and customs of the Hindu castes do not equally appear to have recognized the utility, nay, the necessity of sending their would-be statesmen and generals to the western countries for training in the new arts and sciences." Thus Sarkarism repudiates the contention that there is any difference in the ideals of the East and the West and once again establishes the fact that humanity is fundamentally one.

#### EQUATIONS IN COMPARATIVE DEMOGRAPHY

Before the Scientific Section of the Eighth All-India Medical Conference held at Calcutta in 1932, Professor Sarkar read a paper

which discusses the birth, death, infant mortality and growth rates of the nine Indian provinces.\* They are systematically exhibited in the perspective of international statistics culled from some thirty-three different countries of the Eastern and Western Hemispheres including Japan. The concluding chapter is given over to the discussion of the population policy for India. The international co-efficients of vital statistics have been placed by Sarkar in five different groups. According to him, the zones of birth, death and infant mortality and therefore natural increment are found objectively to be indifferent to considerations of (1) climate, (2) race, (3) religion and (4) politics. "Demographic comrades," he says, "do not necessarily happen to be geographically, ethnographically or sociologically akin to one another." Sarkarism holds that "under uniform conditions of temperature, altitude, isotherms and what not as well as physiognomy, social mores and legal institutions we discover an extensive diversity of birth and death rates; and on the other hand, identical or neighbouring co-efficients are distributed over regions of the world marked by very diverse physico-physiographical and socio-cultural characteristics."

Historical statistics bearing on the birth, death and infant mortality lines of nations (1811-1928) according to him indicate that India has been moving in the same direction as most of the statistically recorded world in regard to the decline-trends. Sarkar established a number of equations in comparative demography on the strength of peaks and depressions in the life-curves of diverse peoples. These equations prove, among other things, that in birth rate Bengal in 1922-26 is just a little lower than Italy in 1921-25 and exhibits more or less the same conditions as Germany in 1911-14. We get likewise from Sarkar an equation in death-rates like the following :

Madras (1922-26) 22.5 is almost equal to Italy (1901-05) 22.0.

Chronological distance between Bengal and Germany in birth rate, according to Sarkar, is some twelve years only and that between Madras and Italy in death rate is about twenty years. And so on in regard to other indices of international vital statistics.

\* *Comparative Birth, Death and Growth Rates* (Calcutta, 1932) and *Sociology of Population* (Calcutta, 1936).

The rather high rates, he says, which happen still to be in evidence on the Indian sub-continent are neither exclusively Indian nor characteristically oriental or 'tropical' but are quite Eur-American as well, and according to him it is not possible to speak of some alleged non-tropical or western indices. He is of opinion that neither Europe nor America is found to be united or uniform in any of these co-efficients. The divergences between the different parts of the geographical expression known as Europe or the western world are immense. It is obvious, he says, that it is only in very recent times, to be measured by half a generation to one generation, that the "undesirable" rates have disappeared from the pioneering peoples. Sarkar trusts that should it be possible for the different regions of India to enjoy a few more doses of (1) popular instruction and (2) general sanitation such as the national finances of modern countries consider to be their first charges, it is likely that the Indian people will catch up to or approximate the go-aheads of the world in no distant future.

The rate of natural growth (i.e. births minus deaths) in India has up till now been uniformly lower than that in other regions with the same amount of population. According to him, therefore, it is not so much from India as from other regions that the world will have to suffer over-population. In regard to over-population Sarkarism is subtle and unconventional. For in Sarkar's judgment over-population is not a numerical magnitude, as is generally believed. The mere number of inhabitants in a country or density per square mile is no index to "optimum," over-population or under-population. In Sarkarism overpopulation is a fundamentally economic category and is always very difficult to demonstrate in a precise manner, because economic categories as a rule are elastic and relative. Economically speaking, says Sarkar, "wherever there is poverty, i.e., low purchasing power and low standard of living, there is over-population. This is a danger to which every country including the richest is liable." It is only in this sense that India, according to him, is over-populated. As long as India is poor, India should have to be described as over-populated even with a lesser number of inhabitants. On the other hand, if her agriculture be improved and industries developed, i.e., if India becomes richer she can maintain much larger population than she does at present. In any case, under the present conditions i.e., other circumstances remaining the same, the stress of over-population, in

so far as it is an eventual possibility in all countries and among all races, is likely to grow with greater doses of modernization involving, as it will, better public health policy etc., i.e., on account of lower mortality rates. The economics of population for India both in problems as well as solutions comprising the questions of emigration will be found according to him to be identical with that for other countries. There should, therefore, be no scare about an alleged over-population from the Indian side.

Thus Sarkarism discovers the foundations of a new science of population as well as a new sociology in the conclusions of comparative vital statistics. Incidentally, the conviction is forced upon us that the climatic conditions of India as well as hygienic and social habits of the Indian people are not as dangerous to health as it has been the custom to believe. Altogether, in population questions as in other things Sarkarism follows a distinctly original line that is at variance with the demographic theories not only of the West but also of India. The subject has been the topic of Sarkar's papers in Italian, German and French at the International Population Congresses (1931, 1935, 1937).

#### CLASS AND CASTE METABOLISM

Sarkar does not countenance the doctrine of inherent superiority or excellence of any class or caste. Class or caste, he believes, is in 'continual flux' and absorption and replacement has always been the fact of social transformation. Economic and cultural progress, according to him, appears often to be from group to group and class to class but in reality has often followed in the wake of 'racial ups and downs.' According to him "those who admit that economic and cultural progress has been advancing from group to group and class to class fail very often to realize that a great deal of the transformations generally known as class or social revolutions are at bottom expressions of racial ups and down." Again, "the eternal story of mankind is to be found in a nut-shell in the stone implements of the palaeolithic ages, when the Mousterians had to give way to the Aurignacians and these latter were in their turn replaced by the Magdalenians and others. Migrations and race-contacts often involving race-submergence or race-disappearance have in all ages furnished the framework of organized social existence" (*Sociology of Population*, Calcutta, 1936, p. 71).

"Aryanism" or Nordic theory does not appeal to him and he holds views which are radically opposed it. Races and castes, according to him, have mingled and the intermixture has produced classes and castes where non-Aryans have been mixed up with the Aryans, Hindus with the non-Hindus, and lower classes with the upper classes, giving rise to transformations in economic, social and political stratification in every region and age. No nation or caste, according to him, represents the unalloyed Aryan stock. As regards India he says, "the mingling of races, Indian as well as extra-Indian, in flesh and blood was a constant determinant in the entire process of family, community or society-making through the ages."

He does not, moreover, believe in any qualitative decline as Lapouge, Galton or Pearson would have us believe. "Should the eugenicist of to-day," says Sarkar, "proceed to characterize the superior fertility of the poorer, depressed, 'scheduled' and other alleged inferior castes or races, their rise into prominence through economic activity, education, political franchise and social reform as well as their marital and sex contacts or eventual amalgamation, partial or complete, with the 'historic' castes and races as tending to lower the quality of Indian civilization and promote race-degeneration or the degradation of values in culture it will be necessary to pronounce the same judgment on the entire course of demographic evolution in India commencing with the Vedic, nay, the Mohenjo Daro epochs." In this view Sarkarism challenges the doctrine of Lapouge who propounded the thesis that the fall of the historic races has involved the decay of civilization. "Race-absolutism or race-monism," says Sarkar, "is an historic unreality in the domain of intelligence quotients and culture."

#### WOMANHOOD AND SEX-EQUALITY

The doctrine of fundamental oneness of humanity leads Sarkar to reject the theory of the different ideals of womanhood according to latitude and longitude. There cannot be one ideal for the East and another for the West, one for the Indians and another for the Americans. The ideals of womanhood, according to him, have everywhere been the same. The same love, affection and tenderness, the same tendency to self-effacement and voluntary submission, the same biological urge of propagation and drive towards motherhood are noticeable in the character of the feminine East as

well as of the feminine West. Sarkar is, besides, a modernist. He is, therefore, not one of those who take exception to woman's taking part in public activities provided her inclination lies that way. He is not for driving women into the kitchen if they are gifted for other than kitchen work.

Functional difference according to sex does not belong to his sociology. There are hardly any activities which can be described as exclusively masculine. If any, they can be counted at fingers' ends. Similarly with the exception of one or two items associated with maternity there are hardly any functions which are exclusively feminine. This is the basis of sex-equality according to Sarkar.

Speaking about Indian women in his *Creative India* (Lahore, 1937, p. 555) Sarkar says that "the Indian women, specially among the intelligentsia, bourgeoisie or upper ten thousands, have already succeeded in assimilating the categories of world-feminism" and that this shows only that the womanhood of India, in part at any rate as in Eur-America, can be depended upon as "constructive workers and thinkers in schemes of world-wide importance for mankind." With regard to the condition of Indian women as economic factors in our social life Sarkar says, "We need not overlook the consideration that women in India have perhaps some special disabilities. But it is entirely wrong to believe that the total womanhood of India lives in seclusion behind the veil. In reality, Indian women are as active as economic agents as their sisters anywhere on earth. Indeed, thirty percent of total Indian womanhood is gainfully employed. This is a much higher percentage than in Italy, Hungary, Sweden, England, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Belgium, Holland, Austria, U.S.A., Japan, Canada, Spain and many other countries. Just a few countries like Switzerland, Germany, Finland, Norway, France, Poland and Bulgaria yield a higher percentage in this field than India."

He does not, as already observed, overlook the disabilities under which womanhood has to labour in India. He weighs them properly in the scale and declares that "women in India, economically speaking, are not idlers. Nor is the *purdah* important enough for the masses of the population to be counted as a factor in the employment market. In certain parts of northern India and especially among the Mussalmans the *purdah* is a social evil and deserves to be condemned as militating against physical health and moral personality. Altogether, the *purdah* may be taken to affect

a very small section of the population." This firm and rational defence of the position and dignity of Indian womanhood constitutes a valuable contribution of Sarkarism to applied sociology.

### Chapter V. Religious

#### THE RELIGIOUS SYNTHESIS AS UNIVERSAL AND ETERNAL

Religion, to Sarkar, is a comprehensive formula, embodying within its complex diverse principles which looked at by scientific analysts would seem to be as the poles asunder. It is to him a synthesis of societal and cultural functions, interests and values. Speaking about this all-comprehensive nature of religion Sarkar says, "Dharma and religion are almost synonymous or identical categories, in so far as each implies a binding or connective principle. A cementing or associative ideology is inextricably bound up with the Indian term as with the European. It is in the *milieu* of sociality, solidarism, harmony or equilibrium in the domain of human experiences, whether individual or collective, that we have to move while dealing with the substance of *dharma* (religion). Naturally, therefore, both in the East and the West no category has been taken consciously in a more synthetic, comprehensive and all-sweeping manner than religion." ("Religious Categories as Universal Expressions of Creative Personality" in *The Religions of the World*, Vol. I., Calcutta, 1938).

Such an all-comprehensive item cannot but be vague and indefinite and religion has not been able to absolve itself from this charge. "Comprehensive categories," says Sarkar, "are, as a matter of course, elastic and rather indefinite in contour and make-up. A delightful and often dangerous vagueness has therefore attached from the nature of the case to *dharma*-religious discussions. Religion has ever and everywhere been appealed to, as it can by all means legitimately be appealed to, on the most varied items of human life." Again, "our Manu and indeed all authors of *Dharma-Sastra* before and after him have devoted attention as much to the health and wealth of men and women as to their manners, customs, laws and constitutions. From eugenics, dietetics and sanitation to jurisprudence, economics and politics there is no branch of human science, physical or mental, individual or social, which has been ignored, overlooked or minimized in these encyclopaedic treatises."

It is indeed possible, he says, to isolate the diverse items of the religious complex but that will be tantamount to killing religion itself. These subjects themselves form the different branches of science but to understand the full import of religion they must be taken together and taken as a whole. "This intellectual analysis," says Sarkar in his address at the Ramakrishna Centenary Parliament of Religions (Calcutta, 1937), published in the paper quoted above, "may be of great help in logic, psychology, metaphysics or sociology. But it is the synthetic whole, and not the individual parts—that men and women, even the philosophers and scientists themselves, vaguely call religion or *dharma* when they apply it to their own life in the interest of day-to-day problems, individual or social." Again, "Religion is really one of the expressions of the psycho-social *Gestalt* or configuration of creative man. In the interest of intellectual clarification the *Gestalt* or structural whole may be pulverized into its contentual atoms, into *Beziehungen* (relations) and processes, to use an expression from von Wiese's sociology. For certain purposes of scientific and philosophical laboratory-collaboration we may dissociate the religious from the psychical and social. This pulverization or dissociation can, however, but lead to the isolation of anaemic or bloodless corpuscles such as pure abstractions ought to be called from the viewpoint of human values."

Religion, according to Sarkar, is coeval with man and his creations. He does not subscribe to the views of the French sociologist Levy-Bruhl, expressed in *La Mythologie primitive* that primitives were marked by a pre-religious temperament. Levy-Bruhl's contention of a pre-logical state of mind is, according to Sarkar, psychologically and anthropologically undemonstrable." As regards the much vexed question of monotheism and polytheism Sarkarism has a definite contribution to make. Neither does it shake hands with the one, nor does it say good bye to the other. Sarkar's attitude is that of a liberal intellectual. According to him neither monotheism nor polytheism is by itself complete. Historically, one is invariably seen to be bound up with the other. And the last word about the nature of God does not yet lead to a finality.

#### STRUGGLE TOWARDS PERFECTION

In his *Chinese Religion Through Hindu Eyes* (Shanghai, 1916) Sarkar says, "Comparative religion and comparative mythology

will show that man in his desire to have something 'afar from the sphere of our sorrow' has everywhere had recourse to the same *modus operandi* and has achieved the same grand failure which is his vanity he always chooses to call success. It would be found that, after all divinity is but an invention of human imagination, in fact, the first postulate taken for granted. And on a broad view of all the forces that have inspired and governed the *élan* and activity, some of which are miscalled religion, and some not, man has ever been essentially a pluralist and an idolist." Again, "if anywhere there have been people professing a so-called monotheism in religion, a study of their daily life would indicate that they have been polytheists with vengeance in every other sphere,—indulging in thousand and one varieties, social, economic and political. These varieties which take away the monotony of life and give a zest to it, do not, pragmatically speaking, differ in the last analysis from the varied rites and practices underlying a so-called polytheistic faith. What the polytheists call religion, the monotheists call culture." "Life," in Sarkar's appraisal, "demands variety: culture therefore is varied. If you abstract a millionth part of this *Kultur*, e.g., the unverifiable hypothesis of man about God, and choose to call it religion, every race can be proved to be monotheistic. But if you take the total inspiration of a human being or the chart of the whole life that a people lives, mankind has ever been polytheistic. If, again, anywhere there have been people who have repudiated idols in religion, a study of their hearts and feelings, their daily habits, their literary and artistic tastes, would indicate that they are paying the debt to 'old Adam' in shape of hero-worship, souvenir-cult, love-fetishes, pathetic fallacy, mementos, memorials, relics and what not."

Sarkarism repudiates the theological conception of the omnipotence of Divinity and its pre-human existence. God, as known to man, is a creation of the human head and heart, a result of creative imagination. Sarkar is not to be understood as an atheist although his belief in the *theos* (god) is not that of a theologian but that of a philosopher. In any case he is one of those who believe that human life is always governed by the desire for perfection. The daily life of men, according to him, is the theatre of conflict between higher and lower selves. He is conscious of the part that this struggle plays in the making and remaking of religion, and the ideal of perfection, he believes, is still to be achieved. In

the words of Sarkar, "Comparative anthropology and comparative psychology will show that man has everywhere and always been fundamentally a beast, and that beneath a superficial varnish of so-called culture "the ape and tiger" hold their majestic sway,—giving rise to superstitions, prejudices, *idolas* and *avidyas* under different guises and conventions. The brute in man is a fact, the *datum*; but the god in man is only an idea, the ideal to be realized."

## Chapter VI. Political

### THE THEORY OF STATE

In the discussion of the problems of the nation, state, freedom and democracy Sarkarism follows its original lines. In the *Science of History and the Hope of Mankind* (London 1912) Sarkar expounds his doctrine of *vishwa-shakti* (world-forces) and shows the paramount importance of the world-forces for the development of every single nation. "It is impossible," says he, "that a nation should be able to acquire or preserve freedom or prestige solely on the strength of its own resources in national wealth and character." According to him "every people has to settle its policy and course of action by detailed study of the disposition of the world-forces and the situation of the political centre of gravity at the time." In his analysis the nature and form of nationality, sovereignty, and democracy are dependent to a very great extent on the conjuncture of international circumstances.

His conception of internationalism is peculiar. He thinks that the problems of applied nationalism in every country consist in the utilization of the world-forces in its own interest. Internationalism is to him but an instrument to be utilized in order to promote the greatness of one's own people. This is his *Geopolitik*.

Sarkar's *Politics of Boundaries* Vol. I. (Calcutta, 1st edition, 1926, 2nd edition 1938) seeks to show that independence and sovereignty are limited as a matter of course. The state is according to him not a natural organism. It is regarded by him "as a voluntary association, an artificial corporation, an institution consciously created or manufactured like the Standard Oil Co. of New York or the University of Oxford." It is a result of contract which he envisages as psychological rather than historical. Internally the state is not to be treated as something inspired by a mystical motive force. According to Sarkar the "nation" does not

## NOT THE NATION BUT THE STATE

exist except as an idea in the imagination of patriots, poets and philosophers. What exists in the world and in history as a fact is the "state." And this state is a mechanical conglomeration of domestic units, clan-communities, socio-economic trusts, etc, not dependent on race, language or culture. In Sarkar's "positive theory" of nation-making the "state may come and the state may go, but the people go on for ever and may live on to create new partnerships or states according to the needs of the hour." The romantic soul-theory of nationality as embodied in the teachings of philosophers from Herder to Mazzini is discarded by Sarkar.\*

The contract which renders internal sovereignty automatically dependent on the whims, interests etc. of the partners who constitute the state can likewise render external sovereignty quite limited, conditioned and dependent. Sarkarism considers external sovereignty to be always conditional. Sarkar believes that by its very origin external sovereignty, that is, national independence is a product of international conjuncture and conflicts between neighbours. The nature of external sovereignty is such that it cannot function until and unless it is accepted as such by the neighbouring powers. Sarkar believes that there is virtually a contract, although tacit, which regulates the external relations of states. Even without a system of international law the relations between nations, that is, sovereign bodies would thus be relations of mutual recognition. The limitedness of external sovereignty is very patent in recent years, for the international agreements and positive contracts between states since the end of the Great War especially under the auspices of the League of Nations are considered by Sarkar to be instances of mutual intervention in the affairs of foreign states (*The Political Philosophies Since 1905*, Vol. I. Madars, 1928, p. 171).

## THE DOCTRINE OF SUPERIOR RACES

The aversion of the East to worldly affairs is a current coin of belief and nobody seems to question its truth. That the East is wholly religious-minded and the West entirely materialistic is a proposition which has been accepted without challenge and has been sanctified by the work of men like Max Mueller and others. This has given rise to a peculiar doctrine of superiority claimed by

\* S. K. Ghoshal: *Herder's Doctrine of the National Soul* (Calcutta 1939).

the westerners. The oriental peoples, on the other hand, unable to retaliate and assert their right in the face of the modern scientific equipment of the West, have likewise indulged in a sense of superiority for themselves although in the spiritual field. The more astounding is it when the stalwarts of Asian thought have blindly accepted this doctrine of Western materialism *versus* Eastern spirituality as virtually the first postulate of comparative philosophy and sociology. It is to Sarkar's credit that he has challenged the validity of this doctrine and has exposed the inherent weakness underlying it in his works beginning from the *Positive Background of Hindu Sociology*, vol. I. (Allahabad, first edition, 1914) down to the *Futurism of Young Asia* (Berlin, 1922), *Creative India* (Lahore, 1937), and *Introduction to Hindu Positivism* (Allahabad, 1937).

In his *Futurism of Young Asia* known now as *the Sociology of Races, Cultures and Human Progress* (1939, p. 2) Sarkar says: "Probably the most universally accepted postulate in the thought of Europe and America is that the occidental races are superior to the oriental. The burden of school lessons and university lectures and newspaper stories and history in these countries is to emphasise this notion. The whole world-culture of the previous five thousand years is assumed as but an insignificant preamble to the grand domination of the orient by the occident during the last few generations. But how does the same history appear to the oriental from his angle of vision? In his eyes it has been the historic role of Asia to be always the aggressor and of Europe to be ever on the defensive. By the test of arms the superior races of the world have been the Asians more often than the Europeans."

If the political domination of one country over another is the criterion according to which the superiority and inferiority of nations may be adjudged, then Asia, according to Sarkar, has a greater right to claim superiority than Europe, and history amply bears out the truth of the statement. "The period of Asian hegemony," he says, "covered, in fact, fully a thousand years from a century before Charlemagne till Peter the Great and Louis XIV." "Has not the number of oriental aggressions into Europe," he asks, "been greater than that of occidental into Asia?" Again, "whatever pseudo-history may be taught in the schools and colleges of Europe and America, among the Orientals themselves the memory of their own military superiority is a potent factor in their modern consciousness. It cannot fade away, because this was not a

romance of legendary heroes in an antediluvian age. It is a fact of the history of our own times."

### THE CLAIMS OF INDIANS OVERSEAS

"Greater India," past and present, is an important category of Sarkarism. It is in the ideological complex of the Dawn Society<sup>1</sup> group, Calcutta (1903-1910) that Sarkar like many others imbibed the ideas about the expansion of India in ancient and medieval times and the maritime and colonizing enterprises of the Indian peoples in Asia and Africa. The idea was developed by him as editor of the *Grihastha* (Householder), the monthly journal in Bengali (1912-1916), and as author of the twelve volumes in Bengali entitled *Vartaman Jagat* (Modern World), 1914-1935, as well as of *Chinese Religion Through Hindu Eyes* (Shanghai, 1916).

Lecturing at the University of Pittsburg, U.S.A., in 1918 and writing in the *Journal of International Relations* (Clark University, 1919) on "Americanization"<sup>2</sup> Sarkar dealt with the problems of emigrants from Asia with special reference to the immigration legislation of the U.S.A. The situation was described by Sarkar as follows: "So far as the Americanization of immigrants from Asia is concerned the problem has ceased to exist. The New Worlders do not want to Americanize the Asian labourers. The men, women and children of the Orient have been postulated to be 'unassimilable' before anything was attempted in the way of 'adopting,' naturalizing, assimilating or amalgamating them." Sarkar characterized the position as nothing short of "America's ultimatum to the orient" (*Futurism of Young Asia*, Berlin, 1922, pp. 49-50).

Sarkar believes that the "New Worlders have chosen to be hospitable to the hungry folks from Europe, but when Asia is at the door crying for bread they have grimly determined to offer only stones." Hence the following challenge of Sarkarism: "Can the native and long-naturalized labourers of America point to a single economic or social feature in which, say, the Slavs or Latins of Eastern and Southern Europe are, under natural conditions, more

<sup>1</sup> For the Dawn Society see Sarkar *Introduction to Hindu Positivism* (Allahabad, 1937), pp. 60, 220-221, and *Creative India* (Lahore, 1937), pp. 496, 626, 662-663.

<sup>2</sup> See H. B. Sen's contribution on "Aspects of Benoy Sarkar's Sociology."

conveniently situated with regard to the domicile in the United States than are the Caucasian (Aryan) Hindus, Mongolo-Tartar Chinese, and Malaya-Mongoloid Japanese? These are the interpellations by Young Asia that await answer from the economists, ethnologists, labour-protagonists and legislators of America." "Young Asia wonders," says he, "as to how it is possible for the brain of America to make a choice between Europe and Asia under the same conditions of temperature and pressure."

The contributions of the Asians including the Indians to the agriculture, industry, arts and crafts, and general culture of the regions to which they have migrated in modern times are considered by Sarkar as of inestimable value to the material wealth and civilization of the colonies in Africa and the two Americas. The creative enterprises of the Indians overseas, i.e., of Greater India to-day in the two Hemispheres are but continuing the glorious tradition of the Hindu colonizing and civilizing activities of yore. In comparative colonialism, according to Sarkar, Indian labour colonies of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in the British Empire or elsewhere, specially since the abolition of slavery in 1834, are at least of as great worth as are the labour immigrants from Europe in the sparsely populated regions of America, Africa and Oceania.

The political corollary of this claim of Sarkarism about the labour equality between Indian and European emigrants is to be seen in the analysis of "India's South African Question" in *Greetings to Young India*, Part I. (Calcutta, First Edition, 1927, Second Edition, 1938). The problem is stated by Sarkar as follows: "To what extent is South Africa culturally and sociologically advanced so as to evolve a type of democratic polity that would be elastic enough to admit the Africans and Asians (comprising Indians as well as Chinese) to the civic liberties of the modern world?" He believes that "a uni-racial state, if it ever was a reality, is a thing of the past. Especially is this true of undeveloped new regions, each one of which is bound to be a multi-racial, hetero-national, polyglot state."

In his analysis of world-economy, "exports and imports of men and women constitute some of the most basic items of commercial and civic existence. This indeed is but an aspect of the much larger problem, viz., that of an international control over foreign capital investments on the one hand and the distribution

of raw materials and food stuffs among the varied nations of the world" (*Greetings to Young India*, pp. 116-117).

#### DEMO-DESPOTOCRACY AS A FUNDAMENTAL REALITY

In Sarkaristic analysis democracy is not an antithesis of despotocracy, nor is despotocracy wholly an antithesis of freedom. Democracy and despotocracy, according to Sarkar, supplement and are really complementary to each other. Force, Sarkar maintains, is at the bottom of every polity, and so is the ingredient of democracy. Democracy and despotocracy are not absolute terms. They are, in Sarkar's analysis, "conditional, conditioned, limited and relative." In his view the *Leviathan* of Hobbes is as erroneous and one-sided and yet as much a stern reality as is the *Contrat Social* of Rousseau.

In his paper for the First Indian Political Science Conference held at Benares, December, 1938, entitled *Demo-Despotocracy and Freedom*, Sarkar analysed these two terms as follows: "Democracy is as stern, as eternal and as universal or ubiquitous a reality in societal organizations as despotocracy. The two polarities constitute a moral unit in the *Zwischenmenschliche Beziehungen und Gebilden* (interhuman relations and forms), to use an expression from von Wiese, of all denominations. Hobbes's *Leviathan* represents then but a partial, one-sided, erroneous and misleading view of the human nature in politics. It is as inadequate and incomplete as Rousseau's *Contrat Social* which presents almost the exact opposite picture of interhuman relations." To Sarkar democratic and despotocratic tendencies cannot operate separately by themselves. The presence of the one almost invariably indicates the presence of the other in whatever doses or degrees it might be. According to him an undemocratic state is as great a contradiction in terms as an undespotocratic state. The so-called totalitarian states,—Soviet Russia, Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany, for instance, are not, according to him, hundred percent despotocratic and dictatorial as they profess to be. Nor, on the other hand, do the United Kingdom, France, the U.S.A. and many other states that appraise themselves as democratic represent the unalloyed hundred percent democracy.

In analysing these demo-despotocratic tendencies in the totalitarian as well as democratic states Sarkar comes to the conclusion: "In spite of his traditional British ideology Chamberlain is a des-

potocrat. In spite of his Nazi philosophy Hitler is a democrat. Chamberlain knows how to ignore the British Parliament when he wills it. The British Cabinet is indeed an organ of despotocracy. Hitler has deliberately abolished *Parliamentarismus*. But he knows how to serve *vox populi* and obey the popular will." Again, "The Leviathan has not yet been thoroughly swept off the British constitution. Nor is the *contrat social*, individual liberty, general will, people's voice, democracy or freedom of the people, entirely silenced in the totalitarian *Staatsräson* of the Nazis." Such is Sarkar's analysis of the so-called hundred percent democratic and hundred percent despotocratic states.

#### DEMOCRACY IN THE ADMINISTRATION OF INDIA

In his peculiar way Sarkar discovers the element of *vox populi* in the hundred percent Leviathanic Administration of India. The transfer of power from the Indian people or princes to the British East India Company was not, according to Sarkar's peculiar interpretation, caused exclusively by the forced subjugation of an unwilling people by the superior military strength of an invading army, but it was rather to a considerable extent an act of free choice on the part of the Indian people. In the words of Sarkar: "The power conferred on the British East India Company by the then Indian 'Emperor of India' (1755) was registered in a *firman* or charter which was by all means a document of *contrat social*, general will and *vox populi*. Submission to the exigencies of the times was forced upon the people, no matter what the exact number of the responsible and creative persons, as a deliberate and freely willed course of action. The transfer of power was an act of free choice on the part of Indian peoples or princes." Want of any strenuous opposition on the part of the Indian people to the establishment of the British power in India goes to show that *vox populi* was not wholly antagonistic to the assumption of despotocratic power by England over India. To quote Sarkar, "The people, the folk, the *demos* did not revolt against the transfer of power from one hand to the other. Nor did it seek to create a new destiny for itself by organizing an alliance with the French East India Company as the rival of the British. Not only tacitly but in so many words did the people accept the position which gradually grew into one of dependency."

According to Sarkar the *vox populi* or *contrat social* in India tried to assert itself later in new forms in the Wahabi movement (1825-40) of the Mussalmans or the Hindu-Moslem united events of 1857. In the Indian National Congress (1885) the orientation of the *vox populi* took another direction and a new form. And since 1885 the *contrat social* element in the Indian polity has been steadily increasing.

#### DESPOTOCRACY IN THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

The Indian National Congress has been viewed by Sarkar as 'virtually an *imperium in imperio* to a certain extent.' In spite of the spirit of *contrat social* which has often and again exhibited itself in the conscious action of the masses such as civil disobedience the analysis of Sarkar reveals that despotic tendencies are dominant in the Indian political *milieu*. "The Congress High Command," according to Sarkar, "has during the entire course of its history comprised from time to time just a few individuals or families, both Hindu and Moslem. These individuals or families are invariably those that represent Bodin's *les nerfs de la république*, the sinews of war, i.e. bullion. The bullion has in certain regions, e.g., Bengal, Bihar, U.P. etc. been mainly feudalistic-Zamindari in origin. It has been derived to a certain extent from the upper rungs of the legal profession throughout India. The financial resources of the newly established industrial-bourgeoisie,—capitalistic individuals or families—have also been in evidence especially in Bombay."

The power of despotocracy in the Congress circles is exercised by those who supply the sinews of war. This fact has been emphasised by Sarkar, and he says, "Whatever be the source, it is the bullion and the power associated with it that have been lording it over the Congress movement from beginning to end. The power of the purse in the Congress circles is manifest with equal force in the philanthropic activities of the millionaires who keep some of their favourite leaders and sub-leaders on the go not only with carriages and automobiles as well as travelling expenses but also with *dal-roti* and other paraphernalia of mundane existence and social efficiency or prestige. The moneyed individuals or families have known likewise how to utilize or exploit the idealists, the martyrs, the prophets, the poets, the novelists, the intellectuals,

the so-called natural leaders, the journalists, and the youngmen in order to build up the despotic general staff of the Congress."

Following Sarkar we are to understand that Indian politicians, howsoever sincerely patriotic, idealistic and self-sacrificing at the start, come consciously or unconsciously within a short time to be exploited by the wealthier Classes and *nouveaux riches* of all denominations and end by being second fiddles to these latter.

The advent of democratic elements in the Congress has been characterised by Sarkar as mass-advancements in homeopathic doses. In his *Progress Planning: A Scheme of Emancipation on Five Fronts* he has called attention to the need for campaign against the despotism of the richer classes, the despotism of the literate i.e., school-going classes, and the despotism of birth among other despoticisms.\*

## Chapter VII. Economic

### THE DOCTORING OF POVERTY

In the field of economics also Sarkar's views, as a rule, run counter to those held by the economists in India and elsewhere.<sup>1</sup> He is not afraid of propounding views, as remarked by the *Economic Journal of London* (March 1936) which are not identical with the nationalistic opinions of many of the political leaders of our country. In his *Indian Currency and Reserve Bank Problems* (Calcutta, 1933) Sarkar forcibly puts forward the view supported by statistical data that the amount and Rupee-value of India's exports are not necessarily dependent upon the rate of exchange. In his *Imperial Preference vis-à-vis World Economy* (Calcutta 1934), he supported the Government and the legislature in the act of its concluding the Ottawa Agreement of 1932. In *Economic Development*, Vol. II (Calcutta, 1932, 1938), he puts forward the argument, as observed by Prof. Bogart in the *American Economic Review* for September 1933, that the standard of living in Western Europe and the United States of America can be raised only if there is a

\* See the contribution on "The Seven Creeds of Benoy Sarkar" by Mrs. Ida Sarkar.

<sup>1</sup> Sarkar's economics has been dealt with at length in S. C. Dutt: *Conflicting Tendencies in Indian Economic Thought* (Calcutta, 1934). See also the contributions in the present book by P. K. Mukherjee, M. Moulik, and S. N. Das-Gupta.

simultaneous development in the industrially less developed countries.

Sarkar's views on economic problems mark him off from the general run of Indian economists. Neither is he a Gandhist denouncing modern industrialism nor a socialist of the diehard type. There is one postulate running all through his writings, which though akin to Frederick List's idea of the stages of economic development (as pointed out by Bogart in the *American Economic Review*), is not strictly analogous to it. The contribution of Sarkarism to contemporary economic theories lies in the doctrine that "whatever has happened in the economic sphere in Eur-America during the last half-century is bound also to happen more or less on similar and even identical lines in Asia and of course in India during the next generation or so" (*Economic Development*, Vol. I. Madras, 1926, 1938, p. ix).

He does not attribute the causes of poverty of the Indian people specifically to any inequitable distribution and class exploitation. Poverty, according to him, is a problem which faces almost the whole of the Indian population and the negligible minority of well-to-do persons are not so much in the categories of the exploiting class as it is understood in Eur-America. 'Poverty in India,' says Sarkar, 'is not so much a resultant of inequities in the distribution of wealth as of the dearth or want of creative occupation. It is more a universal phenomenon affecting, as it does, all the classes of the people than, as is the case in the more advanced countries of Eur-America, a bye-product of the exploitation of one class by another.' Again, "the Indian poverty problem is to be envisaged as, essentially speaking, a question of unemployment on a vast continental scale. How to combat this huge unemployment or, in other words, to create myriads of employments, professions or careers and add to the stream of values is the problem of the poverty doctors" (*Economic Development*, Vol. I. Madras, 1926, 1938 p. 392).

#### INDUSTRIALIZATION AND FOREIGN CAPITAL

The recipe which he prescribes for this universally rampant poverty disease is that of industrialization. "Let the economic activities of the people," says Sarkar in his *Scheme of Economic Development for Young India*,\* "grow in multiplicity and naturally

\* See Appendix V. *Economic Planning for Bengal* (1933) by Benoy

also in diversity, i.e., let the production of wealth increase on all fronts, and millions of men and women will begin automatically to function as industrial workers and hundreds of thousands as engineers, chemists, bank-managers, insurance-agents, office-clerks and what not." "The factories and workshops," says he, "will be compelled in their own interest or through the people's and Government's pressure to open elementary as well as vocational schools for the training of apprentices, and research institutes as well as technical colleges for the supply of directors and experts." He is firmly convinced that on account of industrialization "agriculture will be relieved of the burden of maintaining teeming millions and adjust itself to the redistribution of population as well as pick up much of the science and technology afloat in the atmosphere."

Sarkar visualizes that "simultaneously will the handicrafts commence shedding their 'primitiveness' and rise to the level of subsidiary industries such as are adapted to the new age of large and medium production. In other words, industrialism is the cure for poverty, for it is nothing but industrialism that is pre-supposed by this great consummation." "Add to this," says he, "in order to mention the fullest logical consequences, that the villages will grow into municipal areas." The sanitary and cultural conditions of the people both in town and country will improve. Individuality, manhood, democracy, political self-consciousness and economic energism will be tasted not by tens and hundreds, but by thousands, hundreds of thousands and millions. The world will have to feel that there is such a thing as India." All these, he believes, will follow in the train of industrialization. This view also leads him to the belief that not 'back to the land' but 'away from the land' ought to be the motto of Young India. Sarkarism as embodied in the papers which ultimately go to make the first volume of *Economic Development* (1920-1925) is equivalent to machinism and industrialism.

Now the question comes as to how this industrialisation is to be brought about. It requires immense capital before the initiative can be taken in this direction. Capital, such as can be provided by the Indians themselves, cannot be considered adequate; and capi-

Sarkar as well as his *Economic and Financial Creed* (1934) in S. N. Das-Gupta's contribution on "Some Economic Teachings of Benoy Sarkar," *supra*, pp. 93-97.

tal is: large loanable quantities can only be found in the hands of the foreigners. According to Sarkar, therefore, "the poverty-doctors of India have but one grand mission before them. They have to approach the big bankers of the world and invite them to invest resources in Indian men and materials." "Without these foreign sources of finance," says Sarkar, "India would be poorer in material life as well as less efficient in intellectual and technical affairs." "It has to be admitted," he says further, "that but for foreign capital, other circumstances remaining the same, her economic and spiritual poverty would be more palpable, extensive and profound." Foreign capital, according to Sarkar, is not altogether a curse but can be treated as Godsend.' In this opinion of his he stands radically opposed to the school of Sir Vithaldas Thackersay and the like according to whom "it would be to the permanent good of the country to allow petroleum to remain underground and gold to rest in the bowels of the earth until the gradual regeneration of the country enables her own industrialists to raise them and get the profits of the industries."

For the rejuvenation of the economic life of India Sarkar has chalked out a programme of economic enterprises, class by class, such as for peasants, artisans, retail traders, industrial workers, landowners of the richer categories, exporters and importers, moneyed classes, and intellectuals. To each of these classes he assigns a definite rôle to play in the industrial enterprise of the country. The rough division of initiatives according to capacity which has been outlined in his scheme for economic progress represents a new method of approach to the problem and constitutes the distinctive feature of Sarkarism in applied economics or economic statesmanship.

#### LABOUR ECONOMICS AND SOCIALISM

An exponent of capitalism as he is, Sarkar's analysis of labour economics in *Social Insurance Legislation and Statistics* (Calcutta 1936) has introduced Indian thought to the achievements of neo-socialism and neo-capitalism in the modern world.

In his judgment "social insurance is the greatest single achievement of industrial civilization and the German *Socialpolitik* or socio-economic legislation of 1883-89 furnishes the spiritual foundations of the world's capitalistic morphology." He considers Bismarck to be the "architect of a great epoch in world-culture, a veritable

*Rishi* or *Yugavatar* as we Indians are wont to describe the profoundest remakers of mankind."

It was, however, not in Germany but in England that Sarkar first came into touch with social insurance which he appraises as, in the first place, a phase of "constructive socialism" and, secondly, of "positive democracy." Indeed his first contacts with the labour movement, trade unions etc. as living realities of economic life are not older than the spring of 1914 and the first three or four months of the Great War when he was investigating the British institutions under the guidance of men like Ramsay-Macdonald (London), Patrick Geddes (Edinburgh) and Rudmose Brown (Dublin). In 1914-15 was published his *Ingrajer Janmabhumi* (The Homeland of the Britain) in Bengali, a work of some 600 pages. It is in this book that Bengali leaders of the *Swadeshi* movement, patriots, journalists as well as scholars went to school, so to say, for the first realistic lessons in socialism as a world-force. This constitutes Vol. II of his *Vartaman Jagat* (Modern World) series.

Bengali intellectuals followed with keen interest Sarkar's studies in socialism in subsequent years also, because for a long time he was the only first-hand investigator in labour economics and workingmen's welfare as developed in the pioneering countries of the West. During 1923-25 his Bengali translations from Engels's (Marx's) *Entstehung der Familie* and Lafargue's *L'Evolution de la Propriété* were published in the most diverse monthly journals of Calcutta. They came out later as books entitled *Parivar Gosthi O Rastra* (Family, Property and State, 344 pages, 1926) and *Dhana-Daulater Rupantar* (The Transformations of Wealth, 226 pages, 1928). These are well known socialist classics. Sarkar's contributions to socialism from 1914 to 1928 have therefore helped considerably to shape the ideologies of labour-leaders, welfare-workers and social thinkers in Bengal.

#### COMPULSORY SICKNESS INSURANCE FOR INDIA

In 1934 a manifesto was issued by Sarkar in favour of compulsory sickness insurance. It was published in the *Journal of the Indian Medical Association* (Calcutta, March 1934) and many other Reviews and dailies. The statement ran as follows:

Society, constituted as it is to-day in India and elsewhere, said Sarkar, knows of a large number of men, women and children in the rural centres as well as towns, who because of poverty

are unable to take advantage of medical and surgical services or use the drugs that may be prescribed for them.

It is only the richer or relatively more favourably placed among the agriculturists, artisans, trading classes, clerks and middle-class *bhadraloks* who in the present state of things can enjoy the benefits of medical care. The "uneven distribution of medical service" among the members of the community is the most dismal fact of Indian social conditions in the towns no less than in the villages.

It will be easily understood that pharmacies and drug stores are not in a position to offer their goods to patients only for the asking. These establishments have at least to make their two ends meet.

Medical practitioners and surgeons, *Kavirajes* and *Hakims*, again, with the best of intentions and even when inspired by the highest idealism and enthusiasm for social service, find it impossible to attend cases always on an honorary basis. The economic problem stares them in the face as much as it does the members of other professions. The best that can be done by the proprietors of pharmacies and medical practitioners in an individual manner is to charge the minimum prices economically possible for the medicines and appliances as well as the most moderate conceivable fees. But there is a limit to this "minimum" and "moderateness" from the standpoint of the stores and practitioners. Should an extra dose of philanthropy happen to be in operation, the stores are likely to go out of the market and the practitioners to be placed on the list of paupers. On the other hand, whatever the minimum price and fees, the number of persons that fail to pay his minimum in India and are compelled to go without medicines and medical help when such is urgently required is appallingly large.

Even in regard to the country of millionaires, namely, the U.S.A. the method of moderating the fees has been found to be too inadequate and incapable of solving the problems of payment for medical services. "A 10 or 20 per cent reduction in the costs," remark Falk, Rorem and Ring in *The Cost of Medical Care* (1933), "is of no significance to the person who cannot pay even 10 or 20 per cent of the amount charged."

We touch here really two different aspects of the great problem of poverty. In the first place, there is the important consideration of a relatively more equitable and universal or uniform distribution of medical service. This consists in bringing as many

patients as possible to the doors of the doctors or the doctors to as many patients as possible. Secondly, there is the problem of finding employment for the medical practitioner. It is now agreed on all hands that India must be furnished with more medical men, more qualified *Kavirajes* and *Hakims*, more surgeons, more dentists, more specialists in different diseases. It is necessary, therefore, in the interests of the country to make the healing art economically more worthwhile and attractive. It should be the look-out of the community to enable the medical practitioner of all denominations to carry on even if it be on a modest level. From the standpoint of the community, the essential problem consists in rendering the medical service as cheap as possible. We encounter here the problem of organized welfare.

One method would consist in the establishment of clinics by educational institutions in the districts as well as in Calcutta, say, under the auspices of the University, Colleges, District Boards and Municipalities. The patient may be required to pay a part of the fees, the rest being paid by the institutions. The practitioners' fees must of course be very modest by all means.

Secondly, free or semi-free health services may be offered by employers to their employees. The example already set by one or two business establishments ought to be followed up by others. Some of the Government offices have been doing pioneering work in this line. About thirty per cent of the coal mines in the Jharia section as well as a number of tea plantations belong likewise to this group of pioneers. The Maternity Benefit Acts of Bombay and C.P. deserve also to be mentioned. This sort of voluntary philanthropic social service will have to be expanded all along the line.

In addition to organized welfare on a charitable or semi-charitable basis as suggested above, we require some movements in the ordinary insurance field. The unions of working men ought themselves to organize sickness benefits out of their funds. A large part of the trade union activity should take the form of propaganda along these lines.

Besides, the business of life insurance companies may and ought to be expanded in this direction. Health policies for employees may be sold out by them to employers on the group basis. The attention of insurance men should be seriously directed to this branch of business.

Neither charity, partial or hundred per cent, nor voluntary insurance through trade unions of ordinary business houses has succeeded in solving the problem of the nation's health requirements in other countries. Every country has been compelled to pass laws enabling the state to supervise and control the health insurance organization even in those few cases where the insurance is voluntary and not yet compulsory.

The combined experience of mankind is to-day predominantly in favour of *state* compulsory health insurance. The details of many of these schemes have been discussed at length in various papers by the present author since 1922. It is not necessary to go into these items over again just at present.

One might naturally ask: "Should not health insurance be left to the independent will and responsibility of the individual?" The answer is "No." Individuals find it as impossible to pay the premium to an insurance company as to pay the doctors' fees or the druggists' bills. And among our agriculturists, artisans, or middleclass men in India more than in other countries the surplus in the family budget is so limited that the ability or willingness to pay the premium or the bill is non-existent. Besides, the advantages of the "insurance principles" can hardly be appreciated by just those needy persons,—literate or illiterate,—for whom it is most necessary. Indeed, if the combined experience of economically more lucky peoples, namely, those of Europe and America is of any value, it has been proved that voluntary health insurance cannot be depended upon either as an effective measure of health provision for the people or as a measure of administrative economy.

Sickness must not be treated as a private misfortune. It is not to be regarded as a calamity against which the individual should protect itself as much as it can. It is not even to be counted as a misfortune in which the family alone is interested and therefore which the family alone attempts to combat or prevent. Rather, it is time to look upon sickness as a national misfortune. We should take it as a calamity for the entire community and therefore one to be prevented or cured by the community, i.e. the state.

Remarkable in its social and moral bearings are the advantages conferred on the community by compulsory sickness insurance legislation. On the one hand, the medical practitioner is relieved of the burden of honorary services. On the other hand, the patient is

spared the ignominy of depending on the medical practitioner's benevolence or some philanthropic institution's charity.

The financial burden of sickness cannot be borne by the individual. It must be widely distributed throughout the country. Premium is therefore to be paid by three parties—first, the wage-earner or salaried person; secondly, the employer; and thirdly, the state.

Since the premium is paid by a large number of persons, the high as well as low waged, the risk is well distributed and the rates per individual can become very small. Besides, the social good derived from such a system is extensive. As soon as the state and the community become financially responsible for the health insurance of the individual, the prevention of disease is rendered, humanly speaking, almost a *fait accompli*.

In every scheme of sanitation and public health compulsory health insurance on a wide basis should be regarded as a great prophylactic.

These ideas of Sarkar bearing on what he calls "positive socialism" remain yet to be assimilated in Indian public life and social thought.

## Chapter VIII.

### A Challenge to Questions Closed

The interpretation of Sarkarism as offered here is, curiously enough, so akin to the appreciation of Sarkar's *Bliss of a Moment* (Boston 1918) by Miss Alice Bird, an American author, published in the *Modern Review* (Calcutta) for March 1920 that I am tempted to reproduce the entire article. Miss Bird's review is quoted below:

The philosophy of a young and vital Asia was introduced to America in the columns of the *Boston Transcript* on January 1, 1919. The poetry-reviewer of the Journal, an American poet of distinction, described the "free verse" of *The Bliss of a Moment*, by Benoy Kumar Sarkar, as "at once rhythmic and full of vigorous fancy." We in the West have long read Indian poetry, expecting to find in it a certain mystic beauty. The magic of rhythm, the richness of expression combined with indefiniteness and unreality, have come to represent the poetry of the Orient to our minds. At the same time, here is a large body of Americans who do not care so much for the diction or melody of poetry as for the message contained in it. In this light we are searching every expression

for a message to our own people and to the larger world, as well as to Asia. A curiosity was, therefore, awakened in us by reading in the Boston review that Mr. Sarkar's "volume is extremely interesting, not only in its wealth of unusual imagery and thought, but also as one more indication that the world is rapidly becoming unified, and that Kipling's bold statement that East and West will never meet is found to be quite wrong." Not only are they meeting, but such a message as that contained in *The Bliss of a Moment* by an Indian, is more closely allied to our own mental habits than all the works of Kipling.

Since Western scholars, such as Max Mueller and Schopenhauer, followed even by Indians themselves, treated us to the spiritual glories of the Hindus, we have had enough and to spare of transcendental "bliss." We have been fed on it by India's own great sons, such as Vivekananda and Tagore, as well as by sympathetic Western interpreters like Margaret Noble (Nivedita). It might be said that we were in need of such ideas of renunciation and other-worldliness. Yet to-day after cultivating our own Emersons, Bergsons, Blakes, and Fichtes, to mention just a few among the moderns, we, the alleged materialists of the universe, have come to question the claim of the Orient to superiority in the philosophy of spirituality and transcendentalism.

After reading *The Bliss of a Moment*, another question has arisen in our minds. If this little volume of seventy-five poems, translations from the Bengali, represents the mind of Asia in any particular, then we have been not only imperfectly informed, but Asia has been misrepresented to us. Indologists have told us of India "plunging in thought again," unmindful of material things, seeking solace in meditation of an after-life. Such statements bear out the statement of Professor James Harvey Robinson of Columbia University, an historian of distinction, to the effect that historians have continued, as they always have done, "to see their own particular interests reflected in the dim mirror of the past. They narrated such past events as they believed would interest the reader; they commented on these w'th a view of instructing him, fortifying his virtue or patriotism or staying his faith in God. In a way it was not so very important whether they took pains to verify their facts or not...their motives were mainly literary, moral or religious."

Mr. Sarkar's message in his little volume leads us to think that Indian historians have been narrating to us facts which they thought

would interest us only. His message is one of materialism, aggressiveness and defiance, on which the West has been supposed to hold a monopoly. Yet Sarkar himself is an Indian, a scholar of ancient and medieval India, inferior to none of the historians or literary men who have informed us about the mysticism of Asia. The message which his poetry carries and the philosophy, indigenous to India, which he expounds, carries not the slightest taint of quiescence, piety or mysticism. He has given us, as in his prose, that side of the East which has been scarcely touched by interpreters of the East to the West. The questions naturally arising are, "Is this the East speaking? Or is *The Bliss of a Moment* the poetry of a New Asia, the spiritual expression of a rejuvenated East that has embodied itself in the Pan-Islam of the Persian Jamaluddin, the republican endeavour of Young China, the claim of racial equality by Japanese statesmen, the Hindu-Moslem unity of the Indians, the epoch-making scientific achievements of the Hindu, Dr. Bose, along with the great number of young Hindu scientific, educational and political "missionaries"?

*The New York Publicity Bulletin* (January, 1919) seems to have caught the spirit of the little volume. In its estimate, the book consists of "poems that electrify with the vitality of their message... They combine the energy and forward look of the Occident with the inward, upward-looking faith of the Orient."

The philosophy is, frankly, a challenge to every accepted convention, to every recognized standard of culture and thought, of art, nationality, patriotism. The 'bliss' of a moment is, to the poet, the eternal moment of change. *Niskam Karma*, as taught in *Gita*, is his religion. The poem "Shakti" condenses into a few lines his conception of life. Even in the works of western poets he finds but a reflection of his own self and his own philosophy. Thus he speaks of Browning:

"Teacher of efforts, of fruition careless,  
O thou world's greatest, best critic of life!  
Thine is the modern *Gita's* gospel of hope  
And work for its own sake, O Seer, energist bold!"

Again he questions and answers:

"What is progress but revolt and failure?  
The real heroes are those that fail.  
Endless existence belongs to that race  
That is not derailed by the fear of defeat."

Aside from the spirit of *Shakti*, which pervades every page, the mind of Young Asia as shown by the author is found to possess three characteristics: breadth of vision, cosmopolitanism and universalism, and modernism. The whole world is its range of thought and sympathy, and every class of society, from the poverty-stricken peasant living in his thatched hut, to Dwijendralal Roy, the Schiller of India, is embraced in its mental scope. The Mohammedan of Egypt, the Indian ryot, the Chinese philosopher, the American poet, the divine Dante, all form a part of the intellectual horizon upon which the eyes of young Asia are gazing. At the same time is revealed the cosmopolitan viewpoint of the author, and the fact that Asia is utilising the entire world and all that the human intellect has produced, in its development.

Of Virgil he sings :

"Homer's disciple, inspirer  
Of Dante's and Mazzini's,  
Teacher of patriotism thou  
Of all ages and climes!"

And from Virgil, he comes to modern America, and finds in the Statue of Liberty a message to Asia. Thus he writes :

"Whose message is the basis of character,  
Origin of morals and source of creeds,  
Energy behind all world forces, Thou—  
O Liberty! the very fount of life!"

In this manner does he reach into the past and draw inspiration, or stand in the present and look about him for expressions of the energy which means the rejuvenation of Asia.

The broad conception of the lines entitled "*The patrie*" is of interest not only in this connection, but also because they strike the keynote of the author's pedagogic scheme, on which he would build education, without reference to nationality or race, a scheme diametrically opposed to the accepted nationalistic ideas in every country. Such a statement may seem paradoxical, in the light of Mr. Sarkar's activities in connection with the National Council of Education in Bengal. But this is not so, for using his own words, taken from the *Vedic Magazine* some eight years ago, in an article, "The Hindu Educational System: Past Achievements and Future Ideals" he said :

"It has yet to be dinned into our ears that modernization of India, scientifically interpreted, should mean the proper utilization

of modern world forces, and the assimilation of world-culture in the interest of the development of Indian national ideals along the lines of natural evolution."

The *Bliss of a Moment* embodies *Shakti*. That *Shakti* takes the form of modernism with its accompanying aspects of cosmopolitanism and breadth of vision. A phase of the broad vision of Asia is found to be pluralistic. In one poem the author says:

"I have rebelled against creeds and codes,

\* \* \* \*

Therefore, my songs would into crystals shape  
Theories of life among diverse men."

He presents an argument for almost every case provided it shows energism, life, action. Thus he writes:

"You depend on energy, he on faith,  
I believe in persons, in parties they."

So much does Mr. Sarkar believe in a variety of forms and in the various manifestations of energy that he seems to have no "morals" in the ordinary sense. His test of human values, however, is *creation*. That to him is not only his standard of living, but his test of all human activity. In his belief, out of griefs and joys comes real creation; and such creation is as a work of God. Because, is it not true that griefs and joys are but fruits of endeavour?

"Immortal thou, Creator, among men  
If sincerely thou hast grieved and joyed,"

he sings.

Thus the message of a new Asian poet to America is not quiescence and transcendentalism, but energy. From the lines in which he says:

"Man that is man is bound to break  
And demolish barriers old;  
All human blood, no matter whose,  
Seeks to challenge the questions closed,"

to the poem on *Death* in which is embodied the *motif* of the entire book, as well as the philosophy of a new Asia, we find a new conception of life among peoples hitherto little known to us save through mystics, travellers and missionaries. The ideas in the poem, *Death*, are so characteristic of the poet that they are here quoted:

"Not like a dead animal I would die  
Not like one whose heart hides no cosmic heat;

My last testament I would write at death  
 Myself, to declare the glories of the earth;  
 'It is energy that is life, its forms  
 Craving, lordship, love, warfare, defeat;  
 This ambrosia is not to be had  
 Except on this earth of mud, trees and stones.'  
 If God there be and if it be His might  
 To satisfy man's prayers and demands,  
 And if death is bound to come, I would pray  
 For a death full of madness, unrest, life."

Is this Asia speaking, or is it the voice of our own forefathers who founded America and engraved their names on our hearts?

Miss Bird's estimate was published nearly twenty years ago, and it was based on only one book. It is very interesting that my studies dealing as they do with a large number of works have come independently to the same conclusion as that of the American writer's.

## Chapter IX.

### Foreign Economists and Sociologists in Sarkar's *Vishwa-Shakti*

An important aspect of Sarkar's philosophical outfit is to be found in the constant assimilation of *viswha-shakti* (world-forces) in all his books and brochures. In so far as virtually every contribution of Sarkar is based on comparative surveys and international investigations, Sarkarism automatically introduces everybody to the thoughts and activities of scholars all the world over and movements prominent in countries outside India. Further, Sarkar has sought in several of his works to translate, paraphrase, summarize or refer to the economists, culture-historians, sociologists as well as moral and political writers and jurists with the object of furnishing information or educating the cultured public.\*

The two volumes of *The Political Philosophies Since 1905*, Vol. I. (Madras 1928, 400 pages) and Vol. II. (Lahore 1939, 600

\* See Sarkar's *Varttaman Jagat* (Modern World) in twelve volumes, (4500 pages) as well as his translations or adaptations in the two papers by S. C. Dutt and B. Dass contributed to the present publication.

pages) are good examples of this objective study in the ideas and ideals associated with several hundred American, British, French, German, Italian, Russian as well as Asian (Chinese, Indian, Iranian, Japanese and Turkish) thinkers and theorists. His *Introduction to Hindu Positivism* (Allahabad 1937, 770 pages) is, as the title indicates, a contribution to indology. But the sociological interpretations are prominent. The reader finds himself introduced to the investigations of contemporary sociologists like Toennies, Durkheim, Bouglé, Meinecke, von Wiese, Haushofer, Koellreutter, Pareto, Gini, Niciforo, Del Vecchio, Hocking, Barnes, Lasbax, Sorokin and others.

In this connection it is interesting to see that Professor Norman Himes writing on Sarkar's *Sociology of Population* (Calcutta, 1936) in the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* (Philadelphia) for November, 1937 observes that this work "is far less provincial than 90 per cent of Western social science books. Professor Sarkar is far better acquainted with Western thought and social and economic conditions than are Western scholars with Eastern thought and conditions."

The second volume of Sarkar's Bengali book, *Ekaler Dhana-Daulat O Artha-shastra* (The Wealth and Economics of Our Own Times) is entitled *The New Foundations of Economics* and is complete in 710 pages (1935). The topics of this extensive work are given below to indicate the kind of world-wide survey in economic thought and international economic perspectives which Sarkarism has introduced in the Indian scientific world :

"What is Rational Economics? Statistics *vs.* Mathematical Economics. Divisia's *Economie Rationnelle*. Chips of Economic History. Specimens of Economic Thought. Gonnard. Niciforo. Oppenheimer. Ansiaux. The Theories of Production. The Crisis. Rural Economics and the Farmer. Hainisch. Agriculture in Russia. Studensky's Researches. French investigations in Agriculture. Population Problems and Population Science. Mathematical Demography. Dublin. The Eugenic Standpoint. Eugen Fischer. Zahn. Burgdoerfer. Kuczynski. Housing. Labour and Wages. High Wages. Labour-India through German Eyes.

"Exchange of Goods. Export and Import of Capital. The Theory of International Trade. Cabiati. The Rationing of Raw Materials and Foodstuffs. Currency Questions. The Return of Gold. Oualid. The Quantitative Theory as criticised by Rueff. Branch Banking in America. Japanese Banks. Insurance Past and Present.

Alfred Manes. Social Insurance Problems in America. Epstein. Public Finance. Income Tax in England and Germany. The Economic Organization of the Soviet Regime in Russia. The Five-Year Plan and After.

"French and Italian Economic Journals: *Revue d'Economie Politique*, *Revue Internationale du Travail* (Geneva), *Journal des Economistes*, *Bulletin de la Société d'Economie Politique de Paris*, *Journal du Commerce*, *Giornale degli Economisti e Rivista di Statistica*, *Rivista Internazionale di Scienze Sociali*, *Gerarchia*.

American, Japanese and...British Economic Journals: *American Economic Review*, *Bankers' Magazine*, *Federal Reserve Bulletin*, *Economic Review of the Kyoto University*, *Oriental Economist* (Tokyo), *The Economic Journal* (London), *Barclays Bank Ltd. Monthly Review* (London), *Population* (London).

Economic Journals in Germany:—*Schmollers Jahrbuch*, *Jahrbuccher fuer Nationaloekonomie und Statistik*, *Weltwirtschaftliches Archiv*, *Geopolitik*, *R.T.A. Nachrichten*, *Technik und Wirtschaft*, *Allgemeines Statistisches Archiv*.

"The League of Nations in Economics. The World-Economic Depression. Balances of Accounts. Health and Economic Welfare. The World Crisis and Recovery. The Statistics of unemployment. The Second Industrial Revolution. Economic Planning in Eur-America. Socialism, Capitalism and National Welfare. Owen, St. Simon and Karl Marx. Syndicalism. State-Socialism. Bismarck. Guild Socialism. Fabians. Fascism. National-Socialism. Wanted Anglo-German Labour Welfare in India. Bengali Cultivators and Agricultural Labourers. Capitalism in Bengal.

"Types of Economists. The Marginal Utility of von Wieser. The Mathematical Economics of Walras. The Economic Freedom of Cassel.

"Pantaleoni and Pareto. Carli on Crisis. The Bonifica Economists of Italy. Jandolo. Serpieri. Graziani. Tivaroni. Virgili. Benini. Gini. Pietrà. Mortara.

"The Economists of *Laissez Faire*. Truchy. Yves-Guyot. R. G. Lévy. The Bank-Economists of France. St. Genis the Agricultural Economist. Godferneaux the Railway Economist. French Population Economists. Boverat. Vieille. Richard. Huber. Marsal. Bousquet. In the Workshops of French Economists. Hauser. Henri Séé. Levasseur. Gide. Aftalion. Colson. Brouillet.

"Max Sering the Economist of Internal Colonizing. Adolf Weber Karl Diclh. Exponents of World Economy. Harms. Schilder. Waltershausen. Schumacher. In German Economic Laboratories. Waffenschmidt. Beckerat. Sombart. Strieder. Buecher. Mombert. Damaschke. Roscher, Schmoller and Sombart *vs.* Classics, Menger and Schumpeter. The Crisis-Economist Wagemann. The Adam Mueller School and National-Socialist Economics. Fichte. Thuenen. List. Spann. Baxa.

American Tendencies in Economics. Walker. Fisher. Dublin. John Bates Clark. Seligman. Institutional Economics. Mitchell. The Sociologist of Economic Problems, Sorokin.

"British Welfare Economists.庇護-勞倫斯. Pigou. Hobson. Income-Economist Bowley. Keynes's Sublimated Capitalism. Marshall's Value-Economics. Cannan the Economist of Progress.

"The Japanese Economists. Ohuchi on Public Finance. Uyeda's Population Studies. Takahashi's Interpretation of Social Dumping.

Bengali *vs.* Non-Bengali Economic Thought in India. The General Characteristics of Indian Economists. *Economic Development*. The "Equations" of Comparative Industrialism. Ranade. Romesh Dutt. Satis Mukherjee. Ambika Ukil. The Successors of Kautalya, Shukra, Abul Fazl and Rammohun. The Methodology of Research Initiated by the *Arthik-Unnati* (Economic Progress) Monthly. Economic Curves. Objectivity. World-Economy. Fisher's Monetary Laboratory. Taussig's Tariff Studies. The Crisis Institutes of Harvard and Berlin.

"Appendices. The Problem of Technical Terms in Bengali Economics. The Establishment of the *Bangiya Dhanya-Vijnan Parishat* (Bengali Institute of Economics) 1928. The Topics of Study and Economic Policy of the B.I.E. The Policy of Protection for Bengali Literature with reference to Economics."

The titles of some of the articles, book-reviews and notes by Sarkar published in Indian journals like the *Calcutta Review* and *Prabuddha Bharata* are given below :

1. Social Idealism in Goethe's Lyrics and Dramas (*Prabuddha Bharata*, July, August, 1932).
2. Gini's Cycle of Racial Fertility (*Calcutta Review*, August, 1933).
3. Haushofer's Cult of *Geopolitik* (*C.R.*, April, 1934).

4. French Thought from Fenelon to Bouglé (C. R., May 1934).
5. British Researches in Industrial Fatigue and Industrial Psychology (C. R., June 1934).
6. Economic History through Mussolini's Eyes (C. R., June, 1934).
7. Gumplovicz and Ratzenhofer in Modern Social Thought (C. R., June, 1934).
8. A French Analysis of Christian and Hindu Affinities (C. R., November, 1934).
9. The Ages of Intelligence from Comte to Brunschvigg (C. R., November, 1935).
10. Toennies and the New Sociology (C. R., November, 1935).
11. Nicforo's Variables and Constants in Social Progress (C. R., December 1935).
12. World-Culture in India To-day (*Prabuddha Bharata*, January, 1936).
13. The Paretian Circulation of Elites Examined (C. R., January, 1936).
14. The *Dharma-Sastras* in the Light of von Wiese's "Formal Sociology" (C. R., January, 1936).
15. Masaryk's Mind in Growth (C. R., February, 1936).
16. Open Questions and Reconstructions in the Sociology of Population (C. R., March, 1936).
17. Secularization of Hindu Politics in French Indology (C. R., March, 1936).
18. India's Affinities with Eur-America in Sorokin's Sociology (C. R., April, 1936).
19. The Cult of Kodo in Japanese Political Philosophy (C. R., June, 1936).
20. New Methods of Christian Missions according to Hocking (C. R., October, 1936).
21. The Sociology of Crimes and Punishments (C. R., January, 1937).
22. The People's State as conceived by Van den Bruck and the Third Reich of To-day (C. R., February, 1937).
23. The Political Philosophy of Hocking (C. R., March, 1937).
24. "Formal" Sociology as Interpreted by Leopold von Wiese (C. R., August, 1937).
25. Hindu Sensitism and Ideationalism in Sorokin's *Social and Cultural Dynamics* (C. R., September, 1937).

26. The *Making of a State* by Masaryk (C. R., October 1937).
27. The Spirit of Descartes in International Philosophy (C. R., October, 1937).
28. The Cabinet and the Anti-Cabinet in Barker's Constitutional Synthesis (C. R., March, 1938).
29. *Contemporary Social Problems* according to Phelps (C. R., May, 1938).
30. Barnes's *History of Western Civilization* (C. R., June, 1938).
31. Haushofer's *Macht und Erde* (C. R., June, 1938).
32. Lasbax's Third Empire for France (*La France ir-a-telle à un Troisième Empire?*) (C. R., August, 1938).
33. Stalin as the Manager of Leninism No. II. (C. R., September, 1938).
34. Giorgio Del Vecchio's *Saggi Intorno allo Stato* (C. R., September 1938).
35. Neo-Idealism in Hocking's *Man and the State* (C. R., December, 1938).
36. Volpe *vs.* Croce re *L'Italia in Cammino* (C. R., December, 1938).
37. A Short-coming of the Hegel-Marxian Dialectic (C. R., February 1939).
38. Von Wiese's Theory of the State (C. R., February, 1939).
39. East and West in Barnes and Becker's *Social Thought from Lore to Science* (C. R., February, 1939).
40. Meyer's *Trilogie altindischer Mæchte und Feste der Vegetation* (*Prabuddha Bharata*, March, 1939).
41. Kuczynski and the New Population Science (C. R., March, 1939).
42. The Romanticism of Leopardi (C. R., April, 1939).
43. Pareto's *Mind and Society* (C. R., April, 1939).
44. Mounier's *Personnalisme* (C. R., April 1939).
45. Mannheim's Sociology of Knowledge (C. R., April, 1939).
46. René Hubert's *Le Problème moral* (C. R., May 1939).
47. Toennies's *Geist der Neuzeit* (C. R., May 1939).
48. New Tendencies in German Social Philosophy (C. R., June 1939).
49. Realism multiplied by Mysticism in Hocking's Philosophy (C. R., July, 1939).
50. Wright's *Economic Adaptation to a Changing World Market* (*Indian Journal of Economics*, Allahabad, July 1939).

The above list will show that while Sarkarism follows its own lines it is receptive to all and sundry views and tries to render them accessible to others for information, comparison and assimilation.

This aspect of Sarkar's contributions has been referred to by Professor P. K. Gode while reviewing *Greetings to Young India*, Vol. I. (1927, 1938) in the *Oriental Literary Digest* (Poona) for November 1938. Mr. Gode writes as follows :

"Dr. Benoy Kumar Sarkar with his 'Sarkarism' wants to ride our both provincialism and nationalism in the current narrow sense of these terms. Dr. Sarkar's life and writings have been consistently directed towards the evolution of such contemporary Indian thought as might be conducive to the promotion of cultural sympathy between East and West. Every Indian should be proud of such an achievement and help Dr. Sarkar in his researches, discussions and publications."

The cult of Sarkarism as international co-operation in culture has been described in the *Journal of the Bombay Historical Society* for March 1939 by Prof. B. T. Anklesaria while reviewing Sarkar's *Greetings*. Mr. Anklesaria summarises Sarkar's message as follows : "Let the watch-word of thinking India be co-operation, rather than anything else, co-operation with all those who can give and take the profits in their ventures with India. Let there be intelligence bureaus in India, which would remain in touch with the whole world, keeping an espionage not over foes, but over friends, who can guide them to rise on the highest rung of the ladder. Let Young Indians carefully read this book and study the prophetic message of Benoy Kumar Sarkar, who has spent the best part of his life as a guide of the Indian nation..."

Sarkarism has thus been accepted in Indian thought as almost identical with catholicity and universalism in intellectual and moral discipline. It will be found to be akin to the liberalism and humanism of contemporary world-philosophy.



